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A

HISTORY OF THE GREAT MOGHULS

OR

A HISTORY OF THE BADSHAHATE OF DELHI

From 1605 to 1739 A.D

36975

BY

PRINGLE KENNEDY, M.A., B.L.

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(Vol. II)

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH

PREFACE

I had practically got this Second Volume ready for the Press when the 30th of April 1908 deprived me alike of the power and of the desire to do what little remained. On returning from Europe towards the close of 1909 I took up the laid aside manuscript and found but little that needed change. The political atmosphere has altered considerably since the passage concerning an invasion from the North-West was written, but this atmosphere is no more unalterable than that of nature. It is not many years ago since Mr. Joseph Chamberlain announced as glad tidings of great joy that England had come to an agreement with Germany, an integral part of which was the handing over to the latter Heligoland and it is less than fifteen years ago that the same gentleman talking of Russia remarked that one needed a long spoon if one supped with the Deil. England's present relations with Russia are of the friendliest; and so may they long continue; but if there is to be an invasion of India from the outside in the future, it is probable that this will come as most invasions have come in the past from the Beluch Afghan border. Chinese armies have in the course of history indeed more than once penetrated into India from the North-East and North but nothing permanent has resulted therefrom; and save by way of peaceful penetration, it does not seem likely that in this respect the future will be different from the past. Some seventy years ago in Willis's Rooms Carlyle, lecturing on the hero as poet, put the question whether England would rather give up her Indian Empire or her William Shakespeare and answered unhesitatingly- the Indian Empire. I am not quite sure whether he would not have more hesitation now. William Shakespeare is the poet of England, but her Indian Empire is one, as her Colonial Empire is the other, of her two great National Epics in action. In this Indian Epos during

its course there have been not only successes and triumphs but disappointments and failures; England's statesmen have at times devised foolish things, her administrators have been neglectful, her soldiers have failed; but in spite of all temporary and temporal discouragements the march has steadily been forward; and whenever the last book of this great poem in action comes to be written, in all human probability it is still far distant, still we know alas all things here pass, if the English race be as true to themselves and to England as they have been in the past, the English domination in India will take its place in history amongst the greatest of the world's deeds.

I have to admit the justice of various reviewers as to a want of proportion in the first volume of this work. My one excuse is, that it, as well as this volume, has been written at odd times amidst the pre-occupations of an engrossing profession. I have also to admit that the proof reading might have been more carefully done; this was mine and not my publishers' fault. I am afraid I am not as good a proof reader as I should be. I have to thank the Madras Times for pointing out a stupid mistake in a foot-note giving Sale's translation of the first Sura as a translation of the Muhammedan Kalima. This was one of those unaccountable mistakes for which I have nothing to say in my defence This history has been written chiefly for the man in the street, for those who know but little, but who desire to know something of Medieval Indian history and who are not able to find exactly what they want in other books. I have had the pleasure of being thanked by more than one of this class for being so helped and such thanks I consider a great reward.

MOZUFFERPORE,
January, 1911.

PRINGLE KENNEDY.

HISTORY OF THE GREAT MOGHULS.

VOLUME II.

JAHANGIR.

By the time of the death of Akbar* the Moghuls may be considered to have fairly established themselves in Hindustan. Before and after Taimur there had been Turks in the service of the Afghan Kings of Delhi; but it was only with Baber that the Moghuls or Chagatai Turks as they are ordinarily described by Eastern Writers, first became the permanent Masters of any part of Hindustan. Foreigners, as much so in many respects as the English themselves, coming from inland countries far beyond the gigantic snowy masses of the North-West frontier, they were never to be compared in numbers with the races of India whom they conquered or even with the Afghans, the previous rulers of this country; and when Sher Shah chased Humayun beyond the Indus, it seemed that theirs was only one of the many invasions of India, in which the conquerors have come and seen and conquered and then disappeared. But it was not as in other cases with the Moghuls; back they came and mainly by the genius of one man, Akbar the Great, settled themselves permanently in India, so much so that their chief Administrative methods have been followed by their English Successors. Their predecessors the Afghans, as I have already pointed out in my first Volume, never really got beyond tribal rule. It was Akbar who created a Civil service reaching from the throne down to the pettiest official in regular sequence, which was bound together by being subjected to one imperial centre. Caste, locality—these have always had great influence over matters Indian. It was Akbar's life

* A. D. 1605.

struggle to lessen their influence and though his success was anything but absolute, it was immense. First of all really in his time was there a real Indian Government, and not a congeries of local, almost equally powerful, petty states. Allah Ho Akbar, so says the pious Musalman, God is great. Another translation of the same is Akbar is God, and supreme in this Indian world Akbar determined to be and was. How firm he lay the foundations of the Delhi throne will be seen in the history of the following century. Neither sensualist nor bigot could turn India back to the point where it was when he became ruler. And when the cataclysm came, when what with fainéant Kings, rebellious feudatories and wild Mahrattas the days of the Great Anarchy arrived, the basis of the Administrative structure was so firmly laid, that another foreign race, the English, found no great difficulty in stepping into the shoes of the Moghul Government and in carrying on the task of governing by Akbar's methods, although the Moghuls, deprived of the virility that came by constant accessions from their native home, had let drop from their feeble hands the reins of power.

There is one marked difference in the personal annals of the Great Moghuls commencing with Jahángir and onward and those of his predecessors. The brothers and close relations of the previous rulers, of Baber, Humayun and Akbar, had been often thorns in the flesh to these rulers, but all the same the heads of the house had uniformly treated these unruly members with great forbearance, and even after the breaking out into open rebellion again and again had received them anew into grace. It was only after revolts innumerable that Humayun had Kamran blinded and even this act was forced upon him sorely against his will. But with Jahangir all this changed. He indeed only went half way; he imprisons his rebellious son Khusrao but does not kill him; but after Jahangir up to the end of my story fratricide became the almost invariable accompaniment of a new accession. In Turkey the putting to death of all the brothers save the Ruler was for many a long day the rule, and this rule has been only too faithfully imitated in Moghul India. It did not in the slightest matter that the brother, nephew or cousin as the case might be,

did not put up any claim to sovereignty. His blood was his crime. He might be dangerous and therefore was treated as if he were so. But we must not judge by crimes of this sort the general state of civilization and morals in the Delhi Empire. Where reasons of state were concerned and when brother murder had become an axiom of state policy, the rulers were inexorable. But when such reasons did not exist, although the rulers from the Emperor at Delhi down to the lowest foujdar invested with power, had but little care for human life, for in the East it must be remembered that Napoleon's saying "l'homme n'est qu'un chien," a man is but a dog, is almost universally held by those in power to be true—and although we occasionally read of terrible arbitrary acts, as the story told by a European traveller of how a local governor had eight dancing girls beheaded because when called they did not appear sufficiently quick, still on the whole during the greater part of the period concerning which I write, justice was, on the whole, fairly administered, though punishments were, if judged by present standards, severe. Compared, however, with the English Code a century ago, the Moghul Criminal Code will fairly stand the test. The lands of the Moghuls too were on the whole well policed. The numerous European travellers, Doctors, Merchants and others could not have travelled as freely and as safely as they did, if it had not been that their lives and their properties were properly protected, and there is no reason to believe, in spite of the occasional vapourings of Jahangir whose Memoirs are prodigies of exaggeration, that human life and property were less secure in India at this time than at any other previous time; indeed, these were probably more secure than in a great part of Europe during the middle ages.

Jahangir—Salim as he was known before his accession—was the only son of Akbar that survived him. In my first Volume I have told my readers how he fell out of the good graces of his father—who more than half wished to disinherit him and how he caused Abul Fazl, Akbar's greatest personal friend amongst the Ministers, to be murdered. Jahangir has left behind him Memoirs purporting to be written by himself. Naive to a degree, they chiefly strike the reader by their enormous exaggerations. Thus, for instance,

when writing of the wealth accumulated by his father he tells a story how an officer was directed by Akbar to find out how much gold was to be found in the treasury at Agra. "This officer obtained from different tradesmen in the city four hundred pairs of scales, which for a period of five months he kept at work both day and night, in weighing the coin and precious metals. At the end of that period my father sent to inquire how many maunds of gold had been brought to account. The reply was, that although for the whole of the five months a thousand men, with four hundred pairs of scales, had been night and day unceasingly employed in weighing the contents of one only of the treasuries, they had not yet completed that part of their work. On which my father despatched to desire that matters might be left as they stood; to return the metals to their places, to secure them under lock and seal, and repair to the presence. This, it is to be observed, was the treasury of one city only."*

Or again speaking of the establishment of elephants maintained by him he states that it was maintained at an annual expense of not less than four hundred and sixty lakhs of Ashrafis exclusive of what was incurred in supervising it. Examples of this sort may be multiplied indefinitely. Wherever he gives figures as to his Court, his throne, his revenue, or the income of other persons, the figures are childish in their obvious distention. And this being so, it is at least improbable that the imperial writer did not exaggerate where money was concerned alone. It is almost certain that he does so in other respects, for instance, as to his vices, as well as to his virtues. The amount of wine he drank according to himself would have probably consigned him to a grave in six months; instead of which he reigned almost twenty-four years. And as to his executions, the number of persons put to death by him on account of rebellion and sedition also probably appear tenfold more than they actually were. Writing as to these, he says: "And here I am compelled to observe, with whatever regret, that notwithstanding the frequent and sanguinary executions which

* Jahangir's Memoirs, p. 45.

have been dealt among the people of Hindustan, the number of the turbulent and disaffected never seems to diminish; for what with the examples made during the reign of my father, and subsequently of my own, there is scarcely a province in the empire in which either in battle or by the sword of the executioner, five and six hundred thousand human beings have not, at various periods, fallen victims to this fatal disposition to discontent and turbulence."

If this be taken literally, more provinces than one would both in his father's and in his reign have been almost absolute deserts. From other sources we know that they were nothing of the kind. Still, although these Memoirs are very unreliable authorities for sober history, both on account of the spirit of exaggeration pervading them as well as on account of the Oriental tendency to fulsome flattery (even of one's self), still they are extremely valuable to the student of the time both as showing what Jahangir wished the world to believe him to be and what he actually was. They begin by stating twelve reforms which he on his accession introduced into the Empire. These related to the remission of certain forms of revenue, the effectual policing of the provinces, the due administration of justice, freedom of commerce, the inheriting by children of the properties of their parents, the abolition of cruel punishments and checks on administrative oppression, which, if carried out in their entirety, would have placed the Government of Hindustan as high in the scale of civilised powers as the foremost Western powers of the present day. But I am afraid that all we know about his reign shows that most of these orders were either totally neglected or but partially carried out. Amongst these twelve regulations are two—for both of which much may be said—but which read oddly amongst the others. The first is a prohibition during his birth month, Rabi-ul-Awal, of the use of animal meat and a further prohibition as to the slaughtering of animals on Thursdays and Sundays as well as on certain other fixed days. He quotes his father in support of this rule and doubtless the Hindu feelings which swayed his father were also very potent with him. The second regulation is the prohibition of the sale of wine throughout his dominions.

It is under the reasons given for this rule that he tells us of his own use of wine, as to which he admits that he was in the habit of taking it to such excess, that if he were but an hour without it, his hands would shake and he would be unable to sit or rest. He states he has reduced the daily amount of drink but he naively adds "as drink seems not less necessary than meat for the sustenance of man, it appears very difficult if not impossible for me to discontinue altogether its use." Still he hopes by God's help that when he comes to the age at which Humayun renounced it, he may also do the same. A strange person this to forbid the sale of wine! I need only add that under no circumstances could such a prohibition be efficient in India, where the manufacture of intoxicants is so easy and that the only result of such an order would increase the company of those, against whom the Koran uses so many words of reproach, the great company of the hypocrites. The twelve regulations are not the only instance in the Memoirs of self-laudation; but the point to be noted is this, and it speaks much for these Memoirs having been written by Jahangir himself or at least under his supervision, that he gives reasons for praising himself which others would consider as grounds for disapprobation. No woman could be fonder of gems and precious stones than he shows himself to have been; no child more credulous than he. His stories as to what jugglers did in his presence surpass all belief. At the same time he is a keen observer of nature. Unfortunately the Memoirs cover only a part of his reign, but as I have indicated above, they are far more valuable as a picture of himself than as an account of his deeds. To these Memoirs I shall have occasion from time to time to refer.

There is a tradition in Rajput records, given by Tod, that Akbar died by self-inflicted poison. Wishing to get rid of Raja Man Singh of Ambur, the nephew of his Rajput wife, and one of the chief Nobles of his Court, he handed to him a poisoned pill, keeping as he thought the innoxious portion; but unfortunately for himself he made a mistake and so died of the poison he had desired to give another. The story is not a very likely one. Man Singh was, since the death of Abul Fazl, the most trusty of his

servants, and the one who had the greatest personal interest in the prosperity of the Empire for his sister was one of Jahangir's wives and also the mother of Khusrao, who, it had been suggested to Akbar, should be the successor to the throne instead of the drunken Salim. In Jahangir's Memoirs we read that while in a state of bad health it had been suggested to Akbar in the Harem that he might eat some fruit, that in his enfeebled state of health this entirely upset his stomach and that from this stomach attack he never recovered. Whatever may have been Akbar's feelings towards Jahangir, his only surviving son while in health, now that he was sick, he conversed kindly with him. He warned him to be careful how he entered the Palace and always to be guarded by his own men. This hint Jahangir took, whereupon the Palace attendants who were adherents of Khusrao, shut the gates against him. Akbar, considering that Jahangir had wilfully abstained from visiting him, broke out into reproaches, but in spite of all that his attendants could do to make him nominate Khusrao for the succession, he persisted in the choice of Jahangir. The Memoirs tell this part of the story thus:

"To this the sick monarch replied, 'the decree is God's decree, and of him alone is sovereignty. For my own part, with one mind I retain a thousand hopes. Surely, in giving loose to such language in my presence, you have abandoned me to the jaws of death. Nevertheless it may happen that I have still some portion left in this life. If, however, the awful crisis be at hand, if the hour of departure be arrived, can I have forgotten the military promptitude, political sagacity, and other qualities indispensable to the successful exercise of sovereign power, which at Allahabad I witnessed in Salim Shah? Neither do I find that the love and affection which I have ever borne him has for a moment been diminished. What if, through the misguidings of the evil one, he should for an instant have been led astray from his filial duty, is he not my eldest born, and, as such, the heir to my throne; to that throne which by the institutes of my race belongs to the eldest son, and never descends to him who is in years the

younger? But the six months' wide territory of Bengal I bestow upon Khusrao."*

After this Jahangir was again permitted to visit the palace at his father's request, and as the latter was lying on his death-bed he girt himself with the Emperor's favourite scimitar. Then the father addressed the son in these terms:

"My dear boy (baba), take this my last farewell for here we never meet again. Beware that thou dost not withdraw thy protecting regards from the secluded in my harem, that thou continue the same allowance for subsistence as was allotted by myself. Although my departure must cast a heavy burden upon thy mind, let not the words that are past be at once forgotten. Many a vow and many a covenant have been exchanged between us; break not the pledge which thou hast given me—forget it not. Beware! Many are the claims which I have upon thy soul. Be they great or be they small, do not thou forget them. Call to remembrance my deeds of martial glory. Forget not the exertions of that bounty which distributed so many a jewel. My servants and dependants, when I am gone, do not thou forget, nor the afflicted in the hour of need. Ponder word for word on all that I have said—do thou bear all in mind; and, again, forget me not."†

Thereafter the attendant Muhammedan Imam repeated the Kalimah, the profession of Muhammedan faith—which the dying Monarch in a clear voice repeated after him. Thereafter some chapters of the Koran and then the end. Hater of Muhammedan theology, opponent of Muhammedan orthodoxy as he was, Akbar still found comfort in the supreme hour, as many a heterodox Muhammedan or Christian has found before and after him, in a simple confession of trust in the Father of all whether this be found in the formulas of Islam or in the Lord's prayer.

Jahangir succeeded to the vacant throne without a struggle. Plans to place Khusrao on the throne vanished into mid air. Everywhere his father was proclaimed Akbar's successor. Whether Man Singh

* Jahangir's Memoirs, p. 74.

† Jahangir's Memoirs, p. 77.

had the belief that his influence would be greater with Khusrao as Emperor than with Jahangir or not he did nothing to promote the son's succession. Khusrao was placed in semi-confinement and for some months it seemed as if Jahangir's right to the throne was uncontested. But this state of things did not last long. The Imperial Court was at Agra. Khusrao, on pretext of visiting his grandfather's tomb some miles out, started towards the North-West with a small company of retainers, beating up recruits on his way. Jahangir tells us that he was in doubt at first whether he should pursue his disobedient son or leave this to his Generals. His good fortune led him, so he says, to decide that he should go himself, an advance force starting ahead under Shaikh Farid. At Muttra, Khusrao met Hassan Beg Khan Badakshi with two to three hundred men. Making this Hassan Khan as his Commandant, the latter a true Turkoman took to his occupation kindly, understanding it to be his duty to loot wherever he could. "Every one whom they met on the road they plundered, and took from him his horse or goods. Merchants and travellers were pillaged, and wherever these insurgents went, there was no security for the women and children. Khusrao saw with his own eyes that a cultivated country was being wasted and oppressed, and their atrocities made people feel that death was a thousand times preferable. The poor people had no resource but to join them. If fortune had been at all friendly to him, he would have been overwhelmed with shame and repentance, and would have come to me without the least apprehension."* Although such people may be forced to join an army, they are of no use to it, and so Khusrao's course was one continuous flight, past Delhi, past Panipat, to Lahore. This city he fruitlessly attacked, the Imperial army ever swelling in numbers, now being close. At the bridge of Gundwal the two forces met. At first the royal troops were largely outnumbered, but numbers count for little in Eastern fighting, and amongst Jahangir's troops were the well-known fighting clan, the Sayads of Barha. Khusrao's troops were hopelessly defeated and he

* Elliott, Vol. V., p. 293.

himself surrendered. On the 3rd of Mohurrum 1015, so says the Memoirs, he was brought into the royal presence, trembling and weeping. He was put into strict custody. The Memoirs tell us "that in sorrow for his past misconduct the unhappy Khusrao neither ate nor drank for the space of three days and three nights, which he consumed in tears and groans, hunger and thirst, and all those tokens of deep repentance, peculiar only to those on earth who have sustained the character of prophets and saints, but who have, nevertheless, found that a slight daily repast is still necessary to the support of life. It may be superfluous to remark, that an abstinence carried to the extremity of an entire fast for three days and three nights together, would inevitably have sent him on the fourth day to the bosom of mercy."*

The last remark is typical of the writer. Of the prisoners taken many were impaled on sharp stakes set up in the bed of the Ravi in front of the city of Lahore.

Khusrao never again escaped; a number of years later on it was thought that the Emperor was inclined to take him into favour; but this thought was shortly followed by his death, caused, it is hinted, by poison, administered at the instance of a brother who later on became Emperor under the name of Shah Jahan.

Jahangir had four sons besides the ill-fated Khusrao. Their names were, Kharram, Parvez, Shahriar and Sultan Bukht. Of these Parvez was at the time of the succession in the Deccan where he had his hands full by reason of the unsettled state of the Ahmednuggur kingdom, which though it had been subdued by Akbar and his generals, had never been really incorporated with the Delhi Empire, and where scions of the Nizam dynasty were one after the other set on the throne by Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian who by reason of merit had raised himself to a leading position in that state. This Deccan war lasted practically throughout the whole of Jahangir's reign and to it I shall refer again. At present it is only necessary to state that one of the royal princes was almost all through the reign engaged therein, and that for many

* Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 274.

reasons—largely on account of the unwillingness of the Imperial Governors to undertake any energetic action, they being either too lazy or influenced by corrupt motives the war was never allowed to come to a head. A school for the training of soldiers it was, yes, but a worse school could hardly be imagined. Indeed, nothing had a greater share in causing the gradual deterioration of the Moghul soldiery than the never-ending Deccan wars throughout this seventeenth century. There was always something to be done there; unfortunately it never was done. As long as the foe was the Muhammedan of the Deccan but little harm ensued. The Muhammedan Deccan rulers cared as little that the something necessary should be done as the Moghul generals. But when the Mahrattas came on the scene with a very clear comprehension of what should be done and how they should do it, things became very different. A story told by Jahangir as to the cleaning of muskets would seem to indicate that the methods in the army in his time were very primitive. "On the first day of every month, it was the rule with my father to set the example to his Amirs by discharging his musket, and this was followed by the whole train, from the highest dignitary to the lowest stipendiary enrolled in the service of the state, whether cannoneer or matchlockman. But this discharge of artillery and musketry never occurred but on that single occasion; unless, of course, in battle. In imitation of the same example I have continued the practice, a shot from my gun Darustandaz being followed by one from every individual in my armies, high or low." Probably, however, the whole is but an instance of the ruler's childishness. He had many experienced officers trained in Akbar's wars who probably saw to the Artillery and guns of the Royal force being kept in order in a very different way from what the royal author suggests.

Of all the Moghul rulers, none were so fond of camping as Jahangir. All these rulers indeed inherited from their Central Asian ancestors the love of wandering but none of them had it to the same degree as Jahangir. Aurangzeb was a dweller in tents indeed for many years before his death, but this was with a view to warlike operations and not simply through love of wandering. A Moghul

Emperor's camp was much in the nature of a city under canvas. The royal apartments alone occupied many acres of ground and was guarded by a force similar to that which guarded the royal palace at Agra. Everything was in duplicate so that when the Court arrived after a journey, it had not to wait till tents were pitched. These were always on the spot waiting for them. Royal visits in Europe in the middle ages were a means frequently adopted by rulers to impoverish their great subjects; the royal encampments in India ruined as a rule not only the great men but too often also the poor cultivator of the locality. There seem to have been attempts made by the Delhi rulers, even by Jahangir, notably by Sher Shah and Akbar, to minimise these evils, but none who know India are ignorant of the fact that the strictest orders forbidding the hangers on of a camp from plundering the people amongst whom a camp is pitched, and directing the payment of all supplies, are but seldom efficacious, even under the British Raj. Much less so would they be in Moghul times. Occasionally an example, a severe example would be made; but this would do but little to check the evil. A description in the Memoirs as to how Jahangir visited Ahmedabad, even after it be stripped of all exaggeration, will suffice to show what a nuisance a royal progress was. The royal author says "that he visited this city in winter when the trees were bare of blossom, leaf or fruit. The hostess was the daughter of a great nobleman.

"In the course of five days, by employing various artificers of Ahmedabad, to the number of four hundred individuals, in different branches of decoration, she had so effectually changed the appearance of the gardens, by making use of coloured paper and wax, that every tree and shrub seemed as abundantly furnished with leaf, and flower, and fruit, as if in the very freshness and bloom of spring and summer. These included the orange, lemon, peach, pomegranate and apple; and among flowering shrubs, of every species of rose and other garden flowers of every description. So perfect, indeed, was the deception produced, that when I first entered the garden it entirely escaped my recollection that it was no longer the spring of the year, nor the season for fruit, and I

unwittingly began to pluck at the fruit and flowers, the artificers having copied the beauties of nature with such surprising truth and accuracy. You might have said, without contradiction, that it was the very fruit and flower you saw, in all its bloom and freshness. The different avenues throughout the garden were at the same time furnished with a variety of tents and canopies, of velvet of the deepest green; so that these, together with the verdure of the sod, contrasted with the variegated and lively tints of the rose and an infinity of other flowers, left altogether such an impression on my mind, as that in the very season of the rose I never contemplated in any place, garden, or otherwise, anything that afforded equal delight to the senses.

From the scene of fascination and enchantment I was not permitted to withdraw myself for three days and as many nights; during which, independently of the delicious repasts on which we feasted, the females of my harem by whom I was accompanied, to the number of four hundred, were each of them presented with a tray of four pieces of cloth of gold of the manufacture of Khorasan, and an ambertchi, or perfume stand, of elaborate workmanship and considerable value; none of which presents could have been estimated separately at less than three hundred tomauns. What the begum presented to myself on the occasion, in jewels, pieces of the richest fabric for my wardrobe, and horses of the highest value for temper and speed, could not have amounted to a less sum than four lakhs of rupees. In return, I presented her with a chaplet of pearls of the value of five lakhs of rupees, which had been purchased for my own use, and a bulse of rubies worth three lakhs more; I also added one thousand horse to the dignity already possessed by her father. In conclusion, what was thus exhibited in one short week, and in the very depth of winter, for my recreation, by the daughter of Khan Khanan alone, could scarcely have been accomplished by the united genius and skill of any hundred individuals of the other sex, choose them where you may."

When it is remembered that the artisans and labourers necessary to bring about this result, were all procured by a system of

forced labour without payment, the evil of such an entertainment can easily be comprehended.

Of all places that Jahangir visited, there was none as to which he had an affection similar to that which he had for Kashmir. Most lovingly does he describe the beauties of that wonderful country. Akbar had been there before him, but Akbar had ever his main eye on business. Jahangir was what I might term the royal stroller par excellence, and for a stroller what land is comparable to that wonderful valley with its great central river, its hundred and one lesser streams, its picturesque lakes, its glorious woods, and its majestic surrounding wall of mountains. Nature is to be seen there in her loveliest as well as in her grandest forms, and there is no doubt of the reality of Jahangir's love for nature's loveliness, if not for her grandeur. Time after time did he visit the valleys, and all over the valley has he left in the shape of gardens or buildings his mark.

A journey to Kashmir was very different then from what it is now. There were no roads, and the hill side had to be traversed as best one could. And it is to be remembered that Jahangir marched, even though much of the camp was left behind, heavy. Elephants, royal pavilions, harems, all had to be got through. Loss of life both of men and cattle was but too common, but mere loss of life never has troubled a real Moghul. Jahangir's delight at everything, at the flowers, at the trees, at the saffron cultivation, his noticing the ways of living of the Kashmiris, constantly crop out in his Memoirs. And it is not in Kashmir alone that his curiosity as to men and their habits breaks out. He is fond of frequenting the society of Jogis (mendicants) though generally he is disappointed. On one occasion when near a famous place of worship he went to find if possible some fakir from whose society he might derive advantage; but as he adds—* "such a man is as rare as the Philosopher's stone or the Anka; and all that I saw was a small fraternity without any knowledge of God, the sight of whom filled my heart with nothing but regret." On

* Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 314.

another occasion he goes and sees a Darvesh at Multan, having heard that on every Friday throughout the year showers of gold mohurs fell on his head. This Darvesh in the first instance took no notice of the Emperor. On being pressed* " at last he condescended to open his mouth, and his first words were these: 'I serve that King who sustains, rambling about the earth, many such kings as thou art.' To this observation the Emperor replied by a request that he would favor him with something that might remind him of the admonitions of the wise and good. 'Strive for the repose of God's creatures committed to thy care,' said he, 'and do thy pleasure, for the virtue of this will be a cover to thy sins. Be not offensive. In the Agents whom thou mayest employ in the different provinces of the empire, be it thy study to reject such as are tyrannical and rapacious. Whilst thou hast power, cherish and respect the gray-beard and the Darvesh." He then recited six lines of poetry of which the following is the substance:

Scoff not at the aged man weighed down by the hand of affliction;
Kindle not the flame which consumes the broken hearted.
Be not at one time a trifler, at another grave.
Art thou full? Give not words of wind.
Be not evil-minded lest thy words be evil;
Be not slanderous if thou wouldst avoid a name of reproach.

This part of the story is well fitted to point a moral or adorn a tale, but Jahangir cannot stay at any moral height for any lapse of time and so after all this advice, we get back to the material again. After evening devotions gold fell from the sky upon the Darvesh's head and this the mendicant proceeds to distribute. Jahangir believed in his miracle worker implicitly; others of his cortége, however, were not so credulous. Amongst others the son of the Khan Dauran had the audacity to turn the whole matter into ridicule. Let us listen to the Emperor's story. 'How childish,' said he, 'in the Emperor, to be magic-blinded by his visit to this canting

* Jahangir's Memoirs pp. 129—130.

Darvesh.' I must here observe, that if I had not received the proof, to which I have referred, of his power of penetrating into the secrets of the mind, the miracle of the golden shower would have found but little credit with me; but the disrespectful language in which this person presumed to express himself could not be entirely overlooked; I therefore commanded that one side of his head and face should be flayed of the skin, and he in that state was led round the encampment, proclamation being made at the same time that such was the punishment which awaited those who dared to apply disrespectful language to him, who was at once their sovereign and benefactor. My severity on this occasion seemed to be further warranted by the fact, that this same son of Khan Dauran, on a previous visit to the Darvesh, had demeaned himself very contemptuously; and the Darvesh resenting such conduct, ventured to tell him that he should not go so far as to take his head, his youth and rashness being beneath his notice, 'but,' said he, 'I will have thee scalped.' And thus was the saying of the Darvesh pointedly fulfilled. In truth, persons of this description have at all times a claim to be considered as divinities, yet are they not very far apart from the Deity.''* Laughing at Kings has never been a profitable pursuit, and in the East its results are generally disastrous. If the Khan Dauran's son scoffed again, he did so probably privately to himself.

Like all Moghuls Jahangir was passionately fond of hunting. He once ordered a list of the animals to be made which he had killed in the chase. Up to the eleventh year of his reign he states it was calculated that he had killed 28,532, two-thirds of these being either grass-feeding animals or birds. On his reaching the age of fifty he gave up shooting altogether. His Hindu environment was probably responsible for this step.

The main event in Jahangir's life was his marriage with Nur Jahan. This lady was the daughter of a Persian immigrant who had been the Superintendent of Akbar's household. In taking bribes we are told this Persian was very bold and daring, and in

* Jahangir's Memoirs, p. 131.

after life, when his daughter was Jahangir's chief wife and ruled the Empire, he had plenty of scope in this line. Nur Jahan was married in Akbar's time to Ali Kuli Beg, who got the name of Sher Afghan. On Jahangir's accession, this man was sent to Bengal. It was the story of David and Uriah's wife over again. The royal Governor of Bengal was requested to arrange for a divorce and for Nur Jahan to be sent to Court. The husband naturally enough objected. At a meeting of the Governor and Sher Afghan the latter stabbed the former and was himself immediately cut down. Nur Jahan was sent to Court. First of all she refused to have anything to do with Jahangir whom she rightly considered her husband's murderer, but finally she consented to marry him and from that time she was supreme.

"Day by day her influence and dignity increased. First of all she received the title of *Nur Mahal*, 'Light of the harem,' but was afterwards distinguished by that of *Nur Jahan Begam*, 'Light of the world.' All her relations and connexions were raised to honour and wealth. No grant of lands was conferred upon any woman except under her seal. In addition to giving her the titles other kings bestow, the Emperor granted Nur Jahan the rights of sovereignty and government. Sometimes she would sit on the balcony of her palace, while the nobles would present themselves, and listen to her dictates. Coin was struck in her name, with this superscription: 'By order of the King Jahangir, gold has a hundred splendours added to it by receiving the impression of the name of Nur Jahan, the Queen Begam.' On all *farmans* also receiving the Imperial signature, the name of 'Nur Jahan, the Queen Begam,' was jointly attached. At last her authority reached such a pass that the King was such only in name. Repeatedly he gave out that he had bestowed the sovereignty on Nur Jahan Begam, and would say, 'I require nothing beyond a *sir* of wine and half a *sir* of meat.' It is impossible to describe the beauty and wisdom of the Queen. In any matter, that was presented to her, if a difficulty arose, she immediately solved it. Whoever threw himself upon her protection was preserved from tyranny and oppression; and if ever she learnt that any orphan

girl was destitute and friendless, she would bring about her marriage, and give her a wedding portion. It is probable that during her reign no less than 500 orphan girls were thus married and portioned."*

Her father, who was given the name of Itimad-ud-Doulah, became Prime Minister, her brother who was given the name of Itmad Khan became Master of the Ceremonies. The rule of the whole Empire fell into the hands of her relations and herself. From another source than that which I have quoted, we learn that she used actually to sit at the Jharokha, the window where the Moghul Emperors daily seated themselves in order to be seen by their subjects and to administer justice. Jahangir's statement given above is repeated in this authority thus: that he only wanted a bottle of wine and a piece of meat to keep himself merry and that Nur Jahan was the real ruler of the Empire. In spite of all the panegyrics written in her favour, there is but little doubt that her influence on the whole was bad. The finances of the Empire were plundered by her and her relations and the old nobles were disgusted by the authority wielded by this little gang. Afterwards we will see how this was the cause of the great revolt of the reign.

Plague (waba) is mentioned in the Memoirs. Whether this was cholera or the modern plague it is difficult to say, probably the latter. It appeared at different times, coming and then vanishing. There were no railways in those days and thus one great means of propagation was absent.

There were wars in Bengal where the Kings of Arakan gave trouble and where the old Afghan families now and again caused small internal disturbances, but these were of little moment. Far more important were the wars with the Rana of Udaipur which continued for several years. As in the previous wars against this state we have accounts from both sides, the Rajputs representing themselves as ever victorious, whereas the Muhammedan records are largely silent, only recording the final result of the warfare. Umrao Sing was the Rana of Mewar at the time. Rajput story

* "Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 405.

tells us that when called on by Jahangir's emissaries to submit and pay tribute he wavered long, till the chief of Salombra having hurled a brass vessel against a grand mirror adorning the room of the palace in which the deliberations were carried on, shouted 'to horse chiefs, and preserve from infamy the son of Pertap.' Defeated in his first attack Jahangir found a rival to Umrao in his uncle Sugra, whom he established as Rana while encamped by the ruins of Chitor. This, however did not avail, and after seven years of nominal sovereignty Sugra returned to the Imperial Court where he slew himself. The old tactics in Rajput wars were pursued. On the one side the plains were wasted; on the other the Rajputs retiring to their hills, would suddenly burst on Moghul hosts and do them much damage. On one occasion in particular, at the Pass of Khamnor, Prince Parvez with a large army got entangled and had to fly leaving a great part of his army behind. Prince Kharram succeeded Parvez. According to Jahangir he was more successful than his elder brother. In his Autobiography we find the following passage:

"Pleasing intelligence arrived of the intention of Rana Umrao Sing to repair and make his obedience to me. My fortunate son Kharram had established my authority and garrisons in divers strongholds of the Rana's country, which owing to the malign influence of the air and water, its barrenness and inaccessibility, it was deemed impossible to bring under subjection; yet from the perpetual overrunning of the country, without regard to the heat or the rains, by my armies, the capture and imprisonment of the wives and children of many of the men of rank of the country, the Rana was at length reduced to acknowledge the despair to which he was driven, and that a further continuance of such distress would be attended with utter ruin, with the choice of captivity or being forced to abandon the country. He therefore determined to make his submission, and sent two of his chiefs, Sup Karan and Haridas Jhala, to my son Kharram, to represent that if he would forgive and take him by the hand, he would pay his respects to him, and would send his eldest son Karan to attend to serve the Emperor, as did other Hindu princes; but that, on

account of his years, he would hold himself excused from attending in person. Of these events my son sent a full relation by Shukar Oolah Afzul Khanee.

I was greatly rejoiced at this event happening under my own reign, and I commanded that these, the ancient possessors of the country should not be driven from it. The fact is, Rana Umrao Sing and his ancestors were proud, and confident in the strength and inaccessibility of their mountainous country and its strongholds, and had never beheld a king of Hindustan, nor made submission to any one. I was desirous, in my own fortunate time, the opportunity should not slip my hands; instantly, therefore, on the representation of my son, I forgave the Rana, and sent a friendly firman, that he might rest assured of my protection and care, and imprinted thereon, as a solemn testimony of my sincerity, my "five fingers" (Punja); I also wrote my son, that by any means by which it could be brought about, to treat this illustrious one according to his own heart's wishes."*

Peace was the result. The Rana's grandson, Karan Singh, visited the Imperial Court as the representative of his grandfather and father and was treated with all favour. Tribute—rather a present of elephants, horses and jewels as to which a suitable return was made—was paid by the Rana, he thereby acknowledging himself one of the feudatories of the Empire, but beyond this the Moghuls exacted nothing—neither territory nor the right to kill kine nor any of the hundred and one humiliations commonly demanded by Victors. From this it is very clear that the Rajputs were not badly worsted in the fight; but still all the same from the day of this peace, Mewar's greatness was at an end. In future she was a part of the Empire and her history is that of the Empire.

Long before this war was finished the great Man Sing died. Though he had fifteen hundred wives, so says Jahangir, he left only one surviving son, Bhao Sing, who inherited none of his father's qualities and whose name does not appear amongst the doers of deeds in this or the next reign.

* Todd, Vol. I, pp. 304-305.

Mahabat

Really the greatest Rajput, as judged by action in this reign was Mahabat Khan, the son of the Sugra whom I have named above, who became a convert to Muhammedanism. He is found fighting against the Rajputs in Mewar and greatly distinguishing himself; he is also almost the only Moghul general who accomplished anything in the Deccan and we shall find him later on taking prisoner Jahangir himself.

In the Deccan wars the chief antagonist of the Moghuls was Malik Ambar, an Abysinnian Eunuch. Prince Parvez, one of Jahangir's sons, was for a long time in nominal command of the royal troops; and so for a time was Prince Kharram. But the real leaders of the Moghul troops were great nobles of the Court, the Khan Khanan, son of Bahram Khan, Abdullah Khan and others. In these wars there were always three parties concerned, the Imperial troops, the Adil Shahis of Bijapur and the Nizam Shahis. The capital of these latter Ahmednuggur had been taken by Akbar and the dynasty had seemingly come to an end; but still the province was seething with disaffection. Tactics in the Deccan have ever been the same, whether practised by Muhammedans or Mahrattas; the avoiding of regular actions, the wearing out of one's opponents by destroying all local stores, the laying of ambushes, the inducing of the enemy's troops into impassable localities, such have ever been the leading features of a Deccan campaign. And at all these Malik Ambar was a past Master. In 1610 A. D. the Imperial troops marched under the Khan Khanan into the Balaghat—the lands between the Western Ghats and the sea. There "the grain was exhausted and none was to be obtained for money. The men were reduced to distress, and there was no means of carrying the matter further. Horses, camels and other quadrupeds sank exhausted. So he patched up a sort of peace with the enemy, and conducted Sultan Parvez and the army back to Burhanpur."*

Complaints against the leader were poured into the Imperial ear. One General, Khan Jahan, wrote and said: "All the dis-

* Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 323.

asters have happened through the bad management of Khan Khanan: either confirm him in his command or recall him to Court and appoint me to perform the service. If 30,000 horses are sent as a reinforcement, I will undertake in the course of two years to recover all the Imperial territory from the enemy, to take Kandahar and other fortresses on the frontier and to make Bijapur a part of the Imperial dominions. If I do not accomplish this in the period named, I will never show my face at Court again." Notwithstanding this boaster's promises the Moghuls were closely besieged in Ahmedabad and eventually after a prolonged defence capitulated. In 1612 A. D. other disasters followed. Raja Man Sing was then still alive and out of his experience gave much sound advice, which was not taken by the Muhammedan Nobles who were jointly with the Raja in command of the royal forces. Jealousy between the leaders was everywhere evident in their actions. Abdulla Khan pushed on below the ghats. There Malik Ambar who had in his pay large bodies of Mahrattas harassed him on all sides and he was forced to make a most disgraceful retreat. A saying of one of his chiefs taken prisoner by Malik Ambar survives. To a person attending who said "Victory is in the hands of heaven," he replied "Truly victory is with heaven but the battle is for men."*

In A. D. 1615 Jahangir's troops obtained a victory over Malik Ambar, but though the royal author is very boastful as to the same, little ground was gained. The enemy, contrary to practice, had fought a pitched battle. The next day all trace of them disappeared. After this Jahangir travelled himself to the Deccan, and at Kambay, saw that wonder of wonders to the Moghuls, the sea. While there he ordered the customs duties to be reduced to two and a half per cent.—a very moderate charge indeed. I need hardly say that goods had to pay much more than this on account of the corruption and greed of the customs' officers. All the travellers in the East agree in grumbling at the local governors, and at the governors of Kambay and Surat in particular, on

* Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 323.

account of the greed they displayed where merchandise was concerned and of their seizing whatever took their fancy. If report, however, do not lie, what the Moghul rulers in these days did, is much what at some of the Russian ports, officials do at the present day. Trade in spite of this drawback seems to have greatly flourished.

About this time Mokarram Khan, an Imperial General, made an important conquest on the Eastern coast, *i.e.*, of the territory of Khurdah. Of all India this Eastern coast has ever kept the most free from Muhammedan influence. The Golkonda Kingdom touched the Bay of Bengal at places; but save for this Hindu Rajas and Hinduism reigned supreme from Cuttack to Cape Comorin until the eighteenth century.

A little later while Prince Kharram was in nominal command in the Deccan, the enemy became so strong as to be able to drive the Imperialists from Burhanpur, A. D. 1621, but reinforcements reaching the Prince, he was able to drive off his opponents and things seemed brighter than they were for years when all of a sudden everything was clouded by his revolt from his father. The cause of this rebellion is said to have been his seizing some of the jagirs of Nur Jahan and Prince Shahriar. There is no doubt that he was not beloved of Nur Jahan, and that under her influence Jahangir assumed a very hostile attitude towards this son of his. In the Memoirs the Emperor naively says—"When Kharram's son was ill, I made a vow that, if God would spare his life, I would never shoot an animal again with my own hand. For all my love of shooting I kept my vow for five years to the present time but now that I was offended with Kharram, I resolved to go out shooting again."*

Kharram determined on the offensive. The Khan Khanan joined him on which the Emperor sententiously remarks:

"Khan Khanan who held the exalted dignity of being my tutor, had now turned rebel, and in the seventieth year of his age had blackened his face with ingratitude. But he was by nature

* Elliot, Vol. VI, p 385.

a rebel and traitor. His father, at the close of his days, had acted in the same shameful way towards my revered father. He had but followed the course of his father, and disgraced himself in his old age.—

"The wolf's whelp will grow a wolf,
E'en though reared with man himself."

The objective of the rebels was Agra. Prince Parvez was the nominal leader of the royal forces, Mahabat Khan being in real command. Without a battle Kharram's forces melted away. Mahabat was profuse of promises, which on the whole were kept and soon the rebellious son found that he had to retreat south of the Nerbudda. There this Prince's first action was to seize the aged Khan Khanan, whose fidelity he doubted. Fearing even to remain in this remote corner of the Imperial territory after staying two or three days at Asir, he, with only three of his wives, his children and a small escort, fled from there, having left the fortress in charge of Gopal, a Rajput. As to the Khan Khanan he took him out of confinement "* and bound him by an oath upon the Koran to be faithful. To give force to the oath and agreement, Kharram took the Khan Khanan into his female apartments, and giving him the privilege of a near relation, presented to him his wives and children, and, with tears and great earnestness, said, "In case of evil falling upon me, I trust myself and the honour of my family to you; something must be done, that I may proceed no further in this wretched and miserable course."†

The Khan Khanan was not long in hesitating what he should do. Within a very few days of Kharram's flight he surrendered to Mahabat Khan, who treated him with all courtesy. The rebellious Prince went to Golkonda territory from whence he proceeded to Orissa and Bengal. There he gathered together a considerable force and managed to get as far as Allahabad. Defeated in action by the ever watchful Mahabat Khan, he was forced again to flee. Betaking himself again to the Deccan, he joined Malik Ambar in an attack on Burhanpur. This nearly suc-

* Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 385.
† Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 388.

ceeded, but not quite. On the arrival of Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan in relief of this fortress, Kharram made his way to the inacessible Balaghat. Malik Ambar had been kept in check in the Deccan, it may be noted while Parvez and Mahabat Khan were fighting at Allahabad, by the troops of the Bijapur Sultan with whom very wisely Mahabat had made an alliance while pursuing Kharram in the first occasion on the Deccan. But this alliance was disastrous to Bijapur, as Malik Ambar in a pitched battle, not far from Ahmednuggur, completely routed the Bijapur troops. All the same his attention being drawn towards his enemy to the South, Malik Ambar effected but little against the Moghuls. Not long after this final victory he died A. D. 1625. In the Memoirs we read "This Ambar was a slave, but an able man. In warfare, in command, in sound judgment, and in administration, he had no rival or equal. He well understood that predatory (kazzaki) warfare, which in the language of the Dakhin is called *bargi-giri*. He kept down the turbulent spirits of that country, and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life, and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave arriving at such eminence."*

The chief proof of his greatness was that after his death there ceased to be any vigorous organised opposition to the Moghuls. What there was under the son of Malik Ambar and under the last of the Nizam Shahis was of a very feeble description. When the North-West Deccan again became the scene of warfare, the Mahrattas and not Muhammedan claimants are the protagonists to the Moghuls.

Before Malik Ambar's death Mahabat Khan had rebelled. He too was driven to this owing to the enmity shown him by Nur Jahan's family. As a Muhammedan author says, speaking of his recall from the Deccan ordered by Jahangir: "This recall was owing to the instigation of Asaf Khan, whose object was to bring him to disgrace, and to deprive him of honour, property, and life."†

* Elliot, Vol. VI, pp. 428—429.

† Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 420.

This Asaf Khan was Nur Jahan's brother. The ostensible cause of the royal displeasure was his betrothing his daughter without the Emperor's consent; the real cause I have stated. On Mahabat's returning from the Deccan he was forbidden to appear at Court. With Mahabat came from that country a band of Rajputs, some thousands strong. The Court was then on tour near the river Jhelum. Mahabat, a Rajput by birth and in heart—was determined not to stand by meekly while his enemies ruined him, and he resolved on receiving the command to enter the Royal encampment to seize the Emperor. Everything favoured his attempt. When he arrived near the Court, a part of the tents and most of the troops had already crossed the river, and only a small retinue attended on the Emperor, who had stayed behind. The story of the seizure is thus told by the Muhammedan author, who is the Annalist of the latter part of the reign: "The writer of this Ikbalnama at that time held the offices of *bakshi* and *mir-tuzak;* therefore he had not gone over the river, but passed the night in the antechamber. After prayers, and saying goodnight to his comrades, he went round to inspect. A cry arose that Mahabat Khan was coming, and the thought occurred to me that perhaps he had gone to the door of the private apartments. Then it was said that he had left the private apartments, and had come to the state apartment, to give expression to his feelings. On reaching the entrance of my ante-room, he enquired how matters stood. When his voice reached my ear, I drew my sword, and went out of the tent. When he saw me, he addressed me by name, and asked after His Majesty. I saw that he had with him about 100 Rajputs on foot, carrying spears and shields, and leading his horse in the midst of them; but the dust prevented me from seeing any one's face distinctly. He hastened to the chief entrance, and I entered the state apartment by a side door. I saw a few men of the guard in the state room, and three or four eunuchs standing at the door of the apartment. Mahabat Khan rode to the door of the state room, and alighted. When he proceeded towards the bathroom, he had about 200 Rajputs with him. I then went forward, and in my simplicity exclaimed: "This

presumption and temerity is beyond all rule: if you will wait a minute, I will go on in, and make a report."* He did not trouble himself to answer. When he reached the entrance of the bath-room, his attendants tore down the boards which the door-keepers had put up for security, and threw them into the middle of the state room. The servants who were in attendance on His Majesty informed him of his daring action. The Emperor then came out and took his seat in a palki which was in waiting for him. Mahabat Khan advanced respectfully to the door of the palki, and said "I have assured myself that escape from the malice and implacable hatred of Asaf Khan is impossible, and that I shall be put to death in shame and ignominy. I have therefore boldly and presumptuously thrown myself upon your Majesty's protection. If I deserved death or punishment, give the order that I may suffer it in your presence." The armed Rajputs now flocked in, and surrounded the royal apartments. There was no one with His Majesty but Arab Dast-ghaib and a few other attendants. The violent entrance of that faithless dog had alarmed and enraged His Majesty, so he twice placed his hand on his sword to cleanse the world from the filthy existence of that foul dog. But each time Mansur Badakshi said: "This is a time for fortitude, leave the punishment of this wicked faithless fellow to a just God; a day of retribution will come." His words seemed prudent, so His Majesty restrained himself. In a short time the Rajputs occupied the royal apartments within and without, so that no one but the servants could approach His Majesty. The villain then said: "It is time to go out riding and hunting; let the necessary orders be given as usual, so that your slave may go out in attendance upon you, and it may appear that this bold step has been taken by your Majesty's order." He brought his own horse forward, and urged the Emperor to mount it; but the royal dignity would not permit him to ride upon his horse. So he called for his own horse and ordered his riding garments to be taken into the private apartments. But that shrewd villain would not allow him to go inside.

* Elliot, Vol. VI, pp. 421—423.

They waited a little until the horse was brought. His Majesty then mounted and rode to two arrow-shots distance from the tents. An elephant was brought forward, and Mahabat Khan said that there was a crowd and uproar. His Majesty had therefore better mount the elephant, and so proceed to the hunting ground. The Emperor, without any observation or occupation, mounted the beast. One of the most trusted Rajputs took his seat in front, and two others behind the howda. Mubarak Khan now came forward, and to satisfy him, took a place in the howda with the Emperor. In the confusion, Mubarak had received accidentally a wound in the forehead, from which a good deal of blood had run, and covered his bosom. One of the personal attendants of His Majesty, who had charge of the wine, and carried the royal wine cup in his hand, now came up to the elephant. The Rajputs seized their spears, and with their hands and arms tried to prevent him; but he seized fast hold of the howda, and as there was not room for three persons to sit outside, he supported himself by holding the middle of the howda. After going about half a kos, Gajpat Khan, the master of the elephant stables, brought up the Emperor's own elephant. He was seated in front, and his son behind. Apparently this roused Mahabat Khan's suspicion, and he gave the sign to the Rajputs for killing these two innocent men."

Nur Jahan, however, had got away, and so Mahabat's work was but half done. An attempt to rescue the Emperor by force was made, but failed. The attempt was on the face of it unwise, for if the troops, headed by Asaf Khan, had succeeded in routing Mahabat Khan's Rajputs, doubtless some of these latter would have despatched the Emperor rather than have abandoned him. What force could not do, craft succeeded in doing. Nur Jahan joined the Emperor, treated Mahabat Khan so that he ceased to have any suspicion concerning her and eventually managed to escape with Jahangir to the Punjab Rhotas. Mahabat Khan felt himself outwitted. He had still Asaf Khan in his hands, but thought it wiser to hand him over to Nur Jahan. Thereafter he affected to obey the royal orders which directed him to pursue Kharram who had fled from the Deccan to Sind where he was

trying to seize the strong fortress of Thatta. In this, owing to the loyalty of the Governor, he failed, and thinking that the game was now altogether up, determined to proceed to Persia when the news of the death of Prince Parvez his elder brother and his most formidable rival as regards the succession caused him to change his mind. A reconcilliation with Mahabat Khan, nominally his pursuer, followed, and he was again in a position to enforce his claims to the throne. But of further fighting there was no need, for shortly after these events his father after a short illness died A.D. 1627. Jahangir's tomb is on the banks of the Ravee at Lahore. Shortly before his death died the last of the great men of Akbar's reign, the Khan Khanan, full of years and in spite of all the stories of his tergiversations, full of honour.

Jahangir's character needs but few words. The decay of the race with him had already begun. In his early life he was wilful to a degree; later on he was ever under some influence or other, and as I have already said, the influence of his wife Nur Jahan, the most enduring of all such influences, does not seem to have been for his good. Boastful, extravagant, drunken, still we feel when we read of him that he was not all bad, that he was good natured, and good intentioned. Fortunately he was the son of his father; his way had been smoothed for him by his father's wisdom in administration; and the broad territories under his sway were accordingly peaceful. On the whole the lands under his rule seem to have been contented and prosperous, and this is what cannot be said of the rule of many abler kings, much abler and more conscientious than Jahangir ever was.

No account of Jahangir's reign would be complete without mention of the European settlements on the coast of Peninsular India and of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy to the Imperial Court. The history of the foundation and growth of these settlements is not within the scope of this work and so a very few words concerning the same will suffice. The Portuguese found their way round the Cape while Baber, still a very young man, was fighting with destiny in Transoxiana. From being merely traders they became a political power under the great Viceroy Albuquerque, who acquired the

island of Goa at a time when the Bahmani dynasty only existed as a name and the Adilshahis of Bijapur, within whose territory Goa was, had not yet reached the power to which they afterwards attained. Consequently Goa proved an easy conquest. From this centre the Portuguese stretched their power far and wide over the Indian Ocean, Mozambique on the African coast, Ormuz in the Persian Gulf and Malacca on the Malay peninsula being its outworks. In a very different way from what any piratical ruler had done before, they claimed the lordship of the Indian Ocean. Ships in the Arabian Sea only sailed by their leave. Their pretensions and acts of violence on the sea incensed not only Akbar but other Muhammedan rulers of the East against them, particularly as many from the various countries adjoining the Arabian Sea went by sea rather than by land when on pilgrimage to Mecca. St. Francis Xavier, one of the founders of the Jesuits, came to India, so too did the Spanish Inquisition. Unlike the Eastern Rulers of India in the sixteenth century and particularly unlike Jahangir, who allowed absolute toleration for persons of all religions at a time when such a doctrine was unknown in Europe, the Portuguese were fiercely intolerant. As almost their only converts were their slaves, they soon got themselves thoroughly hated over the East both as brigands and as bigots. Portugal's union with Spain and the war between Spain and Holland led the Dutch to the Eastern seas. On the East coast they founded a flourishing factory at Masulipatam; in the south they seized the seaports of Ceylon and everywhere became a terror to the Portuguese, who had made the fatal mistake of attempting to maintain an Eastern Empire without ever renewing the material of the same with Western blood. More than a hundred years after the Portuguese and some years after the Dutch, came the English. The port where they first began to trade was Surat in Gujarat belonging to the Delhi Empire. The Portuguese had got ports higher up at Daman and Diu, but neither of these were of much importance, whereas Surat had for many years been the chief port in the Upper part of the Western Coast of India. Besides the perils of the sea, two great difficulties stood in the way of English trade, the determination of the Portuguese

to keep out the other European nations and the exactions of local officials. As regards the latter. they had recourse to Jahangir himself. First Captain Hawkins, a commander of one of the East India Company's ships, and then afterwards Sir Thomas Roe as ambassador from James I visited the Imperial Court. It is worthy of notice that even by their time, there were quite a number of Europeans to be found inland. Most of these were runaways from boardship or deserters from the Portuguese settlements to be found in the artillery of the native Princes, for even then the Eastern chiefs had a great idea of the Western as a fighting man, but some were of a different type. An eccentric scholar, such as Tom Corryat, was to be found, who had walked the whole way from Aleppo, subsisting on little more than a penny a day; other merchants had come overland from Persia, for the overland route was then in common use, and men such as William Finch, who was with Captain Hawkins, preferred to return through Cabul rather than round the Cape. Of course, there were also Jesuit missionaries to be found, striving wherever they could to find converts. Both Captain Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe had to complain of the procrastination, of the vacillation, of what Dickens calls the way not to do it, of Eastern Courts. Sir Thomas Roe has special complaints against Prince Kharram, the future Shah Jahan, on account of his pride and his dislike of Christians, and there is no doubt that he had reason, for with Shah Jahan begins a very different regime as far as toleration was concerned. Both this Capt. Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe described partly with wonder, and partly with the contempt, that unfamiliarity often generates, the doings at the Imperial Court, the daily appearances of Jahangir at the Jharokha, the animal fights in his presence, the executions, the private levées at night in the Ghusal Khana and the discussion of state matters therein. Sir Thomas Roe in addition tells what hardships he underwent when Jahangir went into camp journeying from Agra to Mandu, how often he found the greatest difficulty in obtaining decent accommodation or even drinking water. In one of his letters he gives this graphic description of the customs of the land, as he understood them.

"They have no written law. The King by his own word ruleth, and his Governors of Provinces by that authoritie. Once a week he sitteth in judgment patiently, and giveth sentence for crimes, Capitall and Civill. He is every man's heire when he dyeth, which maketh him rich and the Countrey so evill builded. The great men about him are not borne Noble, but favourites raised: to whom hee giveth (if it be true) wonderfull meanes. They are reckoned by Horses that is to say, Coronels of twelve thousand Horses; which is the greatest, whereof are four, besides his sonnes and his wife: so descending to twentie horses; not that any of these are bound to keepe, or raise any at all. But the King assigneth them so much land, as is bound to maintaine so many Horses as a rent, each horse at five and twentie pounds sterling by the yeere, which is an incredible Revenue given away: so many, (that is, almost all, but the Ploughmen, Artificers, and Tradesmen in towns) living upon it. But as they die, and must needs gather, so it returneth to the King like Rivers to the sea, both of those he gave to, and of those that have gained by their owne industry. But for the most part he leaveth the widowes and children their horses, stuffe, and some other stocke: and then putteth them into a Signiory (if the fathers were of six or seven thousand horses) perhaps of a thousand or five hundred: and so setteth them to begin the world anew, and advanceth them as they deserve of him. They all rise by presenting him, which they strive to doe both richly and rarely: some giving a hundred thousand pounds in jewels at a time. He hath one beloved wife among foure, that wholly governeth him. He received lately a present from the King of Bisampore, to obtaine peace, (whose Ambassadour knocked his head three times against the ground) of six and thirty Elephants, of two whereof the chaines and all tackles were of beaten gold, to the weigght of foure hundred pounds, two of silver, of the same fashion; the rest of Copper; fiftie Horses richly furnished and ten Lackes of Rupias in Jewels, great Pearles, and Balasse Rubies. Every Lacke is an hundred thousand Rupias; every Rupia two shillings sixe pence sterling: so tenne Lackes is a Million of Rupias.

His Territorie is farre greater than the Persians, and almost equall, if not as great as the Turkes. His meanes of money, by revenue, custome of Presents, and inheriting all mens goods, above both. His Countrey lyeth West to Sind, and so stretcheth to Candahar, and to the Mountains of Taurus North. To the east as farre as the utmost parts of Bangala, and the borders of Ganges: and South to Deccan, it is two thousand miles square at the least, but hath many pettie Kings within, that are Tributaries.''*

Jahangir's being weighed on certain days of the year, *viz.*, his birthday and Nouroz, and then weights of gold, silver, and other articles being given away struck Sir Thomas with surprise and also with incredulity, at least as far as the more precious articles were concerned. On one occasion Jahangir tried him by asking whether he would buy two juvenile malefactors condemned to death. Sir Thomas replied that he would pay the money but then would let them free. This he did, but he has a long grumble at the King, who so treated an Ambassador. Still Sir Thomas on the whole obviously liked Jahangir, the latter's facility, good nature and tolerance all making a favourable impression on him. As to his grumbling at having to give presents here, there and everywhere, this has always been the way of the East, and not in India alone; it is not I fancy unknown in the West. Sir Thomas Roe finally obtained permission for English merchants to trade, paying 3½ per cent. as customs duties. Such a rate compared favourably with most custom rates at the present day, even with the present Indian Government's 5 per cent. Doubtless the Customers, as Sir Thomas Roe calls the Custom Officers, got also their own share, but still trading was and continued to be throughout the country an exceedingly profitable pursuit to the English engaged in it.

* Purchas, Vol. IV, p. 437.

SHAH JAHAN—A. D. 1627—1658.

At the time of Jahangir's death Shah Jahan, who had retraced his steps after having been joined by Mahabat Khan, was in the Deccan. Of all the possible claimants to the succession, there was not one to be compared with him either in ability or experience. This, Asaf Khan, Nur Jahan's brother, the chief minister and greatest man at the time in the state, well knew; and so he declined to listen to his sister's proposal to put Shahriyar, a younger son of Jahangir, on the throne. Nur Jahan's idea was thus to prolong her own reign, but her brother, who saw further than did this beautiful inmate of the Harem, at once perceived the perils of such a course—perils arising on the one hand from the probability that in any conflict for empire Shah Jahan would gain the upper hand and that in consequence he, Asaf Khan, and his family would be utterly ruined, and, on the other hand, that there was no telling as to how long the faineant ruler would be a tool in the hand of Nur Jahan's faction—for the trouble of faineant Kings has ever been the facility with which they are gained over from one interest to another. So Asaf Khan decided to declare for the one capable claimant. Shah Jahan was indeed far away, but a fast runner was immediately sent by the minister to inform him of what had happened. In the meantime Jahangir was interred with all due ceremony at Lahore in a garden which Nur Jahan had laid out, and Dawar Buksh, the son of Khusrao, was brought out of confinement and placed by Asaf Khan on the throne. The historian of the time tells us that Dawar Buksh was loth to believe the wily Persian and only yielded to his and his fellow conspirators' words when they bound themselves by the most stringent oaths, which, however, were not kept nor meant to be kept. We read 'when the nobles and officers of the State became aware that Asaf Khan had resorted to the stratagem of proclaiming Dawar Buksh, in order to secure the succession of Shah Jahan, and that Dawar

was, in fact, a mere sacrificial lamb, they gave their support to Asaf Khan, and did whatever he said. So the Khutba was read in Dawar Buksh's name near Bhimbar, and then they started for Lahore. Asaf Khan was not at ease in respect of Nur Jahan, so he kept watch over her, and would allow no communication with her. The Begum's wish was to raise Shahriyar to the throne. Shahriyar was in Lahore when he heard of the Emperor's death, and urged by his intriguing wife, he assumed the royal title. He seized upon the royal treasure and everything belonging to the State which was in Lahore. To secure troops and supporters, he gave to everyone what he asked for, and in the course of one week he distributed seventy lacs of rupees among the old and young nobles, in the hope of securing his position. Mirza Baisinghar, son of the late Prince Daniyal, on the death of the Emperor, fled to Lahore, and joined Shahriyar. He took command of the forces, and led them over the river.* The fight between Asaf Khan and Shahriyar was but of short duration. Defeated, the latter fled into the female apartments of the late Emperor. From thence he was brought out by a eunuch, bound and blinded. In the meantime Shah Jahan was slowly approaching the capital. When news arrived that he had left the Deccan and was approaching Agra, the farce of Dawar Buksh's sovereignty came to an end. The Khutba was read at Lahore in Shah Jahan's name and Dawar Buksh was thrown into prison. Shortly afterwards orders came to Asaf Khan to put to death all the princes that remained of Akbar's race. Dawar Buksh, his brother Garshasp, the two sons of Prince Daniyal, Akbar's second son, Shahriyar, all were put to death. At length the Delhi sovereignty had copied to the full the custom of Constantinople. In the first century of the Moghul rule, brotherly affection was ever shown by Baber, Humayun and Akbar. Even Jahangir, though greatly provoked, for Khusrao had long been a rival, contented himself with blinding and had fits of tenderness to his son. But from now henceforth, the full blight of Eastern sovereignty, the deadening of all natural affection rules the Delhi Empire in full force. Shah Jahan himself, as we shall

* Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 436.

afterwards see, suffered by the law of retribution. He steps to the throne through the murder of a brother, of nephews and of cousins; his reign will come to an end and he will end his days as a captive through the conduct of his own sons. With Jahangir's death we come to an end of royal authors. No longer shall we learn from books written by themselves what sort of men they were or what they wished the world to consider them to be. Henceforth we shall have no such help. With Shah Jahan, indeed, we have help of another sort. Whatever else he was, Shah Jahan was a builder on the grandest scale. The greatest monuments of Moghul architecture in Northern India, the Taj Mahal at Agra and the Juma Musjid at Delhi are his work. It does not concern us here to discuss, how far extraneous, particularly Italian workmanship was employed in the first building, or who actually were the architects of these two wondrous piles. Only a sovereign with boundless resources and with ideas both of the grand and the beautiful, could have directed and superintended these glorious buildings. Muhammedan architecture, as regards both mosques and mausoleums, is largely uniform and one mosque or mausoleum is more or less the type of all others, but in spite of this general uniformity, diversity has ample scope in such creations, and Shah Jahan's great works are incomparably the most striking and the most artistic in India. Inferring from the buildings to the man, we are constrained to pay homage to the grandeur of his conceptions and to his having had the artistic sense strongly developed. Otherwise he was not an amiable character. As far as outer events were concerned, the period 1627 to 1656 was the golden period of Moghul rule. Foreign wars were but few and unimportant, at home there was peace and plenty, and the royal treasury was ever full to overflowing. But in the midst of it all is Shah Jahan, an imperturbable and incomprehensible character, proud as Lucifer as Sir Thomas Roe describes him, cruel to a degree or rather absolutely indifferent to human suffering, and never, as far as history tells us, doing a generous or noble act. A sensualist of the Eastern type, in one matter he shows himself in a pleasant light, *i.e.*, in his great affection to his wife Mumtaz Taj Mahal, the

mother of his many children, who, while living, was his constant companion and to whom, when dead, he raised the loveliest of tombs. Taj Mahal, whatever she may have been as regards beauty and personal attraction, was a far inferior character to Nur Jahan, whose niece she was. In cruelty and pride she seems to have been much on a par with Shah Jahan himself. Another of the Emperor's traits, which as years rolled on, became more and more pronounced, was his avarice, until in his latter days we get the repulsive picture of an old decrepit miser of an Emperor, sitting amongst his jewel and money bags and hugging them as dearer than life itself. Altogether when we get to this Emperor, we feel we have left the typical Moghul of the Steppes behind us altogether. No more joviality, no more spontaneity and manliness; instead we have reached the age of automata. Once more in the bigot Emperor, in Aurangzeb, we will find a monarch who, whatever else he was, was essentially a man, but already we have stepped on to the road of decay, out of the breezes into the miasmic marsh.

Shah Jahan's reign, as I have already pointed out, was one of great prosperity. The Rajputs had become loyal servants of the Empire. Since Jahangir's treaty with the Rana of Mewar, Rajput independence had come to an end. During the remaining days of the Empire they and their rulers are ever to be found fighting as soldiers of the Empire (save indeed when Aurangzeb tries to interfere with their religion and their personal liberties at which time many of them rise in revolt); no longer does the Rana claim to be a sovereign on terms of equality with the ruler at Delhi; all that he asked for, is to be enrolled as one of the great nobles of the Empire and to be treated as a great noble should be treated. As regards the North-Western part of the Empire, Kandahar in this reign becomes finally Persian, but Cabul is and indeed continues to be till well into the eighteenth century an integral part of the Empire, as quiet and as contented as any other part of the Empire.

The slow process of filtration continues in the Deccan. Ahmedabad, without the help of the able Malik Ambar, finally becomes

a part of the Empire, and the two remaining Muhammedan states, Bijapur and Golkonda, become weaker and weaker.

The first distant rumbles of the Mahratta troubles that will finally lay the Empire in the dust, are to be heard, but at present all their effect is to weaken the state of Bijapur. The Portuguese power is on the decline and no other European power takes its place. So on every side the position is one of prosperity. Eastern writers are ordinarily not to be trusted on account of their excessive servility; but at the same time the reports of Western travellers, although of the greatest use, must not be taken alone, as giving a full and impartial account of any Eastern Government. Such writers necessarily take more note of extraordinary than of ordinary occurrence. Being absolute strangers, everything to them is strange, and their reports are rather as to what strikes them as most strange than as to the regular course of administration. They indeed do report, and there seems no reason to doubt the correctness of their report, that the Emperor was famed for his justice. Few, however, dared or cared to appeal to him. In a Muhammedan account of his reign we read—

"Notwithstanding the great area of the country, plaints were so few that only one day in the week, *viz.*, Wednesday, was fixed upon for the administration of justice; and it was rarely even then that twenty plaintiffs could be found to prefer suits, the number being generally much less. The writer of this historical sketch on more than one occasion, when honoured with an audience of the King, heard His Majesty chide the darogha of the Court that, although so many confidential persons had been appointed to invite plaintiffs, and a day of the week was set apart exclusively with the view of dispensing justice, yet even the small number of twenty plaintiffs could but very seldom be brought into Court. The darogha replied that if he failed to produce only one plaintiff, he would be worthy of punishment.

In short, it was owing to the great solicitude evinced by the King towards the promotion of the national weal and the general tranquillity, that the people were restrained from committing offences against one another and breaking the public peace. But if

offenders were discovered, the local authorities used generally to try them on the spot where the offence had been committed according to law, and in concurrence with the law officers, and if any individual, dissatisfied with the decision passed on his case, appealed to the Governor or the diwan, or to the kazi of the suba, the matter was reviewed, and judgment awarded with great care and discrimination, lest it should be mentioned in the presence of the King that justice had not been done. If parties were not satisfied with these decisions, they appealed to the chief diwan, or to the chief kazi on matters of law. These officers instituted further inquiries. With all this care, what cases, except those relating to blood and religion, could become subjects of reference to His Majesty ? "*

The same writer speaks of the general prosperity of the time thus: "The means employed by the King in these happy times to protect and nourish his people; to punish all kinds of oppressive evil-doers; his knowledge on all subjects tending to the welfare of his people; his impressing the same necessity upon the revenue functionaries, and the appointment of honest and intelligent officers in every district; his administration of the country, and calling for and examining annual statements of revenue, in order to ascertain what were the resources of the empire; his showing his royal affection to the people, and expressing his displeasure when necessary; his issuing stringent orders to the officers appointed to the charge of the crown and assigned lands, to promote the increase and welfare of the tenants; his admonishing the disobedient, and constantly directing his generous attention towards the improvement of agriculture and the collection of revenues for the state; all these contributed in a great measure to advance the prosperity of his empire. The pargana, the income of which was three lacs of rupees in the reign of Akbar (whose seat is in the highest heaven) yielded in this happy reign, a revenue of ten lacs. The collections made in some districts, however, fell short of this proportionate increase. The chokladars who, by carefully cultivating their lands, aided in increasing the revenue, received marked consideration, and *vice versâ*.

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 173.

Notwithstanding the comparative increase in the expenses of the State during this reign, gratuities for the erection of public edifices and other works in progress, and for the paid military service and establishments, such as those maintained in Balkh, Badakshan, and Kandahar, amounted at one disbursement only, to fourteen crores of rupees, and the advances made on account of the edifices only, were two crores and fifty lacs of rupees. From this single instance of expenditure, an idea may be formed as to what the charges must have been under others. Besides in times of war large sums were expended, in addition to fixed salaries and ordinary outlay. In short, the expenditure of former reigns, in comparison with the one in question, was not even in the proportion of one to four; and yet this King, in a short space of time, amassed a treasure which it would have taken several years for his predecessors to accumulate."*

Much of this may be exaggeration. The great expenditure in buildings and their adornment, in the maintenance of the Imperial Court, in the construction of the Peacock throne and in a hundred other ways, must have been at the expense of the general prosperity of the kingdom. Corvées for public works during Shah Jehan's reign must have been as troublesome as was in Egypt the Pharaohs' employment of forced labour to build the Pyramids. But still India is a very big country: a great part of the country is fertile to an extraordinary degree, the persons directly affected by the corvée were in proportion to the total population but small, and provided peace and a certain amount of security, and both existed in this reign, the inhabitants could be comparatively to what they were in other times, well off in spite of all the imperial waste. I have mentioned the Peacock throne. This was of enormous value being said to be worth millions. It was composed largely of gold and precious stones, and was so called inasmuch as each pillar was surmounted by two peacocks. The Koran forbids the representation of human and animal forms, much in the spirit of the second commandment, lest the worshipper should bow down to the created rather than

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 171.

the creator and these peacocks were against the strict letter of Islam, though casuists were to be found who were able to prove that there was nothing in them inconsistent with the precepts of the Prophet. But Shah Jahan had been reared in a harem where Hindu women occupied a large place and was the son of a Hindu mother. Although with him may be said to begin the return of the Delhi rulers towards Islam, still Hindu feelings largely influenced him, and no Koranic precept restrained him from following his own wishes in a matter as to which there might be doubt. The jewel-loving Emperor was not to be kept from displaying his wealth of diamonds, emeralds, rubies and pearls in what he considered the most artistic fashion. The throne remained in existence as long as the Moghul Empire flourished, but in its decay it was seized and broken up by Nadir Shah as we shall see later on.

The forts at Agra and Delhi—both magnificent specimens of Moghul fort building and with architectural treasures within them, such as the Moti Musjid at Agra and the Diwan-i-Khas at Delhi, were both built in this reign. The present Delhi indeed, known by Muhammedan historians as Shah Jahanabad, was the creation of this sovereign standing as it does North-West of the older Delhi of the time of Baber and Akbar. An old disused canal in the environs constructed by Furukh Shah Khilji, ruler of Delhi, who reigned a few years before the invasion of Timur, which had become blocked up and which had only been partially repaired by Akbar's governor, was cleaned out and made afresh, receiving the appropriate name of Nahr-i-Bihist, the canal of Heaven. To sum up this part of my story, it was in Shah Jahan's reign that Agra and Delhi, as we now know them, really came into existence. No Delhi monarch before or after him has ever equalled him in the matter of building. As to this he, of Indian rulers, rules supreme.

Shah Jahan's reign did not commence without a rebellion. Khan Jahan Lodi, a great Afghan Chief, who had been left behind in the Deccan, entered into an alliance with the last of the Nizam Shahis and surrendered to the latter the Balaghat, he himself marching to Mandu to await events. Summoned to Agra and being deserted by the numerous Rajput chiefs, whose troops formed a

considerable part of his army, he resolved to obey and proceeded there. Fearing his arrest, however, he took with him a large body of armed Afghan followers. The usual stories got about of plots to seize him, and although the Emperor sent him a letter on the subject, disavowing any such project, his suspicions were not to be lulled and after short stay off he went. After him followed Khwaja Abul Hassan and a small body of Imperial troops. Overtaking him at Dholpur by the Chambal River, the latter forced on a combat. As the historian pithily says, "The fugitives saw their road of escape was closed, for the waters of the Chambal were before them, and the fire of the avenging sword behind. So they posted themselves in the rugged and difficult ground on the bank of the river and fearing to perish in the waters, they resolved upon battle. The result was that the Imperial troops were held back and Khan Jahan with his Afghans was able to cross. The Khwaja's forces were tired, the fighting had been severe, and so he was able neither to prevent the crossing nor to follow himself. Consequently the fugitives got safe away into the Bundela country A. D. 1628. There he was favoured by the eldest son of the reigning Raja and eventually reached the Deccan. Having reached that country he joined with the forces of the last of the Nizam Shah Dynasty. That Prince had become practically a robber on a large scale, holding no certain territory, but ever on the look-out for loot and plunder. Most of his Chief Lieutenants were Mahratta Hindus. Khan Jahan Lodi seems to have been more sought after by the Imperial troops than this Nizam Shahi Prince. Cut off by an energetic General, Khan Jahan only escaped with the loss of one of his sons and his equipage. Then separating from the Deccan prince, he determined to do what other rebels had done before him, *i.e.*, raise the Punjab. He was never able, however, to reach that country. The Bundelas now turned round on him and hindered his progress. Defeated, losing in fight more sons and his chief supporters, at last it seemed clear to him that he could not escape. Thereupon he met his end with dignity and calmness—A. D. 1631."* The story is thus told: "Khan Jahan was much afflicted at the loss of

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 9.

his sons and faithful followers. All hope of escape was cut off; so he told his followers that he was weary of life, that he had reached the end of his career, and there was no longer any means of deliverance for him; he desired, therefore, that every man should make off as best he could. A few determined to stand by him till the last, but many fled. The advanced forces of the royal army under Madhu Singh now came up. Khan Jahan, with his son Aziz, who was the dearest of all, and Aimal and the Afghans who remained constant, placed their two remaining elephants in front, and advanced to meet Muzaffar Khan. They made their charge, and when Khan Jahan found that they were determined to take him, he alighted from his horse and fought desperately. In the midst of the struggle Madhu Singh pierced him with a spear, and before Muzaffar Khan could come up the brave fellows cut Khan Jahan, his dear son Aziz, and Aimal, to pieces."* The title of Khan Jahan was conferred on his conqueror Muzaffar Khan. After his death, until the end of the reign and the war between Shah Jahan's sons, no rebellion of any consequence disturbed again the Empire's tranquillity.

All this time and indeed all through the reign war with the Deccan princes went on. In its course the Nizam Shahi Dynasty came to an end, the country over which they governed coming almost entirely under the Imperial authority at least in name (Bijapur acquired a small part) and the kingdom of Golkonda and Bijapur were much weakened."

In 1629 A. D. we read for the first time of an actual invasion of the Golkonda territory. This stretched up the Eastern coast of India as far North almost as Orissa. Bakir Khan, the Imperial governor of this province, attacked in the cold weather of this year the fortress Mansurgarh which was built commanding a pass through the Orissa hills. In spite of its name which means the fort of victory, the garrison, on an assault being imminent, took grass between their teeth as is the manner of that country, so says the chronicler, and begged for quarter. This was the commencement of the encroachment of the Delhi government on the Golkonda

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 21.

Kingdom. Another general in the same year, Nasiri Khan, reduced the fortress of Kandahar in Telingana, then the North-Eastern Province of the Kutb Shahi Kingdom (which must not be confounded with the Afghan Kandahar). More important, however, were the wars against the Bijapur Adil Shahis and the wandering Nizam Shahis. Azam Khan was at this time (1630-40) the imperial general. A minority in Bijapur caused the real power to fall into the hands of a slave, Daulat, originally a minstrel, ennobled by the last King under the name of Daulat Khan, and now the chief of the state. He took to himself the title of Khawas Khan. The real head of the Government was a Brahmin Mahratta, Murari Pundit. A siege by the Imperialists of the strong fort of Parenda failed owing to the inability of the besieging army to obtain fodder. In this year there was a most disastrous famine in the Deccan. The Muhammedan historian tells its story thus :—

"During the past year no rain had fallen in the territories of the Balaghat, and the drought had been especially severe about Daulatabad. In the present year also there had been a deficiency in the bordering countries, and a total want in the Dakhin and Gujarat. The inhabitants of these two countries were reduced to the direst extremities. Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy; rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it; the ever-bounteous hand was now stretched out to beg for food; and the feet which had always trodden the way of contentment walked about only in search of sustenance. For a long time dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh, and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. When this was discovered, the sellers were brought to justice. Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The numbers of the dying caused obstructions in the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and who retained the power to move wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries. Those lands which had been famous for their fertility and plenty now retained no trace of productiveness."*

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 24.

In those days as well as now there were methods of famine relief, the giving away of food and money and the lessening of taxation.

"The Emperor in his gracious kindness and bounty directed the officials of Burhanpur, Ahmedabad, and the country of Surat, to establish soup kitchens, or alms-houses, such as are called langar in the language of Hindustan, for the benefit of the poor and destitute. Every day sufficient soup and bread was prepared to satisfy the wants of the hungry. It was further ordered that so long as His Majesty remained at Burhanpur 5,000 rupees should be distributed among the deserving poor every Monday, that day being distinguished above all others as the day of the Emperor's accession to the throne. Thus, on twenty Mondays, one lac of rupees was given away in charity. Ahmedabad had suffered more severely than any other place, and so His Majesty ordered the officials to distribute 50,000 rupees among the famine-stricken people. Want of rain and dearness of grain had caused great distress in many other countries. So under the directions of the wise and generous Emperor taxes amounting to nearly seventy lacs of rupees were remitted by the revenue officers—a sum amounting to nearly eighty krors of dams, and amounting to one-eleventh part of the whole revenue. When such remissions were made from the exchequer, it may be conceived how great were the reductions made by the nobles who held jagirs and mansabs."*

In A. D. 1631 two matters of importance happened. Malik Ambar's son, Fath Khan seized the nominal ruler of the Nizam Shahis and placed him in confinement, and Azam Khan having taken Kulburga laid siege to Bijapur itself. The consequence was that the Adil Shahi ruler offered to make terms. It was proposed that he should send tribute to the value of forty lakhs of rupees in jewels, valuable elephants and money, and should promise to remain ever faithful to Shah Jahan whom he was to recognize as his master. It turned out, however, that these proposals were being made simply with a view of gaining time. In this they were successful. All the country had been wasted by the Bijapur troops before the arrival of the Imperialists. No food or fodder

* Elliot, Vol. VII. p. 24.

was to be had. As the historian puts it "man and beast were sinking," and so there was nothing but a retreat. This they made, plundering wherever they went.

In A. D. 1632 Fath Khan submitted to the Emperor and was awarded certain districts in the old Nizam Shahi Kingdom, including the town of Daulatabad. This offended Sahuji, the Mahratta, the father of the famous Sivaji, and so with a band of Adil Shahis this chieftain advanced against Daulatabad. Fath Khan, whose only idea seems to have been to get what he could, on promises of cash made by the Bijapur general and of the retention by him of the fortress, went back from his submission to the Emperor and began to fortify himself for a siege. Against him thereupon came the Khan Khanan (Mahabat Khan) and his son who had obtained the title of Khan Zaman. Trenches were formed, mines were charged, and after a fierce conflict the outer works were carried. It is stated that the Khan Khanan, a true Rajput, wished to head the storming party himself and was with great difficulty dissuaded. After the outer fortress two more remained to be carried, the Mahakot and the Kalikot. The latter was carried by a storming party. Then at last Fath Khan offered to surrender.

He was granted favourable terms, being allowed to retire with his family and property and being granted carriage for his goods and a large sum in cash. Such terms show us the Rajput nature in the Khan Khanan again. And so Daulatabad came again into the imperial possession. The historian of the time thus describes the fort :—"The old name of the fortress of Daulatabad was Deo-gir, or Dharagar. It stands upon a rock which towers to the sky. In circumference it measures 5,000 legal gaz, and the rock all round is scarped so carefully, from the base of the fort to the level of the water, that a snake or an ant would ascend it with difficulty. Around it there is a moat forty legal yards (zara) in width, and thirty in depth, cut into the solid rock. In the heart of the rock there is a dark and tortuous passage, like the ascent of a minaret, and a light is required there in broad daylight. The steps are cut in the rock itself, and the bottom is closed by an iron gate. It is by this road and way that the fortress is entered.

By the passage a large iron brazier had been constructed, which, when necessary, could be placed in the middle of it, and a fire being kindled in this brazier, its heat would effectually prevent all progress. The ordinary means of besieging a fort by mines, sabats, etc., are of no avail against it."* Fath Khan, we are told, was subsequently sent along with the Nizam Shah, faineant King, to Agra. The former was pardoned—this was doubtless on account of the promises of the Khan Khanan—the latter sent to the Gwalior state prison.

Soon after the great Khan Khanan died, A. D. 1633. The war still lingered on; another Nizam Shahi faineant ruler was set up, but the Ahmednuggur Kingdom had come to its final end. Henceforth it ceased even to be a name. In a treaty of peace concluded with Bijapur in A. D. 1635 Shah Jahan confirmed to the ruler of that state whatever territory he had seized from the Nizam Shah State as well as the whole of the Konkan, a part of which had once partially belonged to the ruler of Ahmedabad.

A little before these events the Portuguese Factory at Hugli came to a violent end. Shah Jahan unlike Jahangir hated Christians and his favourite wife Taj Mahal hated them if anything more than her husband. They had not helped Shah Jahan in his days of revolt, on the other hand, they had always been friendly with his father. Now that his day of triumph was come, he was determined to strike and to strike hard. Most of the European factories being on the sea-coast were hard to reach, but the Portuguese factory of Hugli was well within his power. No sea-going vessels were necessary for its capture. It was built two miles above the mart of Satgam and complaints were made to the Emperor that the Portuguese had fortified themselves in their factory and had driven away the trade from Satgam. Further complaints were that the Portuguese had proselytised at a great rate and sent numbers of the converts off in ships to Europe—presumably to work as slaves. Our historian remarks: "In the hope of an everlasting reward, but in reality of an exquisite torture,

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 41.

they consoled themselves with the profits of their trade for the loss of rent which arose from the removal of the cultivators. These hateful practices were not confined to the lands they occupied, but they seized and carried off every one they could lay their hands upon along the sides of the river."* Shah Jahan, we are told, had noticed all this before he came to the throne. In reality, when on his wanderings during his rebel days, the Portuguese had declined to give him and his wife shelter, and consequently he had determined on revenge. No sooner was he secured on the throne than he gave to Karim Khan, the Governor of Bengal, the necessary orders. A flotilla was constructed; false stories were put about as to its destination; the Hugli has an endless network of offshoots down which large boats can proceed, which offshoots communicate with the river lower down, and so it happened that Hugli was cut off from the sea before the Portuguese knew that the Moghuls were about to attack them. When they did learn this, they held out bravely. It took months before the place was taken. The final capture was brought about by draining certain watercourses which the Portuguese used for their boats. One great ship was blown up by its defenders (for to Hugli in those days large ships could come); so were many smaller vessels; many of the defendants were drowned. The rest were taken prisoners and sent to Agra. Before they reached there Taj Mahal was dead. It was reported that it was fortunate for them that she was so, as she had vowed to have them all killed. In any case their lot was not a happy one. The younger women were taken into the Emperor's and the chief nobles' harems. Others had their choice of Islam or death. With this tragedy ended Portuguese territorial rule in Bengal. About sixty years more and the English will found another city, Calcutta—destined after many vicissitudes to become the capital of their Indian Empire.

Taj Mahal, as I have already said, was dead before Hugli was taken, she having survived Shah Jahan's accession to the throne for only three years. All this Emperor's sons, who at the end of his reign contended for the throne were hers. In all she had eight

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 82.

sons and six daughters, quite a record for one wife to bear to an Eastern ruler. Henceforth Shah Jahan gave himself up to the ordinary courses of an Eastern King and we no longer read of any one woman having control over him. An exception has to be made, however, as regards one of his daughters, Begam Sahiba, with whom the scandalous chronicles of the time say that in latter days his relations were incestuous. Certain it was that she had great authority in court, that countries, governors, strangers, foreigners, everyone who wanted to obtain any favour from the Court found it necessary to win her favour by the payment of a large sum of money. It was a little after Taj Mahal's death that Shah Jahan publicly showed his bigotry by ordering that all the temples throughout his Empire and particularly in Benares, which had been begun, but were unfinished, should be thrown down. Such an order could only very partially be carried out, but the fact of such an order being given, shows that we are departing from Akbar's days and ways. In the next reign the regression to intolerance will become complete.

The Bundelas gave Shah Jahan much trouble. I have already related how a prince of this tribe had aided Khan Jahan Lodi in his escape through their country, and how afterwards when he returned, they had obstructed him. This race living on the South and Western side of the Ganges and out of the main line of traffic and of civilization along the river, amidst forests and hills, were largely addicted to robbery. They were Hindus of a sort, having Rajput names, but their Hinduism would hardly have been acknowledged in Benares or Udaipur. Their chief, Jajhar Sing, had been sent by Shah Jahan on service to the Deccan. Leaving his son with the Imperial troops there, he returned home and signalized his home coming by attacking a neighbouring Zemindar, Bim Narain, whom he treacherously killed and whose fort Chouragarh, a Central Indian fortress of considerable strength, he seized. On this being known at court, he was ordered to give up a part of his booty. This he determined not to do. Summoning his son to escape from the Imperial forces in the South, he broke out in open rebellion. The son, Bikramjit, with great difficulty, managed to reach home, having been pursued and having lost in a fight the greater number of his

followers. Under the nominal command of Prince Aurangzeb, but really under Khan Dauran, the royal army entered the Bundelkund forests. Everywhere there was opposition, more indeed caused by nature than by the Bundelas themselves. At one fort Dhamuni which the royal troops carried by storm, a gunpowder explosion destroyed a large number of the attacking forces. At last, however, the country was subdued, Chouragarh was abandoned, and Jajhar and his troops made a bolt, carrying with them his treasure, for the Golkonda kingdom. Pursuit was close. When overtaken we are told that the fugitives had not even time to perform the Jauhar rites. Rani Parbati, the chief wife of the leader, was left on the ground badly wounded; other of the women were killed by the fugitives. Many of the Bundelas were slain, a son and a grandson of Jajhar escaped only to fall into the hands of some Gonds, an aboriginal hunting tribe of the Western Vindhyas who put them cruelly to death. Two sons managed to reach Golkonda, but the Kutb Shahi Prince ruling there thought it no part of his duty to afford a refuge to Kafirs of this sort, and surrendered them to the Imperial authorities, who sent them to Court. On reaching there they were offered the choice of Islam or death, and in choosing the latter were in the choice language of the Muhammedan historian sent to hell. The Bundelas did not give the Imperial authorities very much trouble for many a long year. In A. D. 1637 we read of expeditions to Kuch Behar and Assam. Thick jungle had not prevented the earlier Aryans from crossing in numbers the Kosi river and settling themselves beyond in Northern Bengal, but modern Kuch Behar and the country round it had hardly been troubled by the Muhammedan conquerors, who in Bengal and near it had kept very much to the neighbourhood of the great rivers. The Kuch Behar ruler Lachmi Narain submitted to the Imperial rule, and from this time his lands became a part of the Empire. With Assam, however, the case was different, an expedition, a victory, the destruction of some forts, such seems to have been all the work done. The Assam rulers did not become feudatories.

Far more important were the events which happened in this reign at Kandahar and in Badakshan. Kandahar had become

Moghul in the reign of Akbar. In Jahangir's reign it was seized by the Persians; Shah Jahan, desiring to recover it, sent an emissary to Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian Governor, with instructions to try and bring about its surrender. Ali Mardan Khan was seduced from his allegiance by this man's gifts and promises, and the place became for a short time a part of the Empire of Shah Jahan. In the year A. D. 1648 it fell again into the hands of the Persians, who under their King Akbar the Great had marched against it and the neighbouring fortresses of Bast and Zamindawar. At places these latter forts stood out stoutly for some time; but Daulat Khan, the Governor of Kandahar, as soon as he found himself really pressed, does not seem to have thought a moment as to whether he could make a successful defence till succour came, but only how he could make terms for himself. As soon as the snow was off the ground the Imperial Forces besieged Kandahar from which place Abbas had retired, only leaving a garrison. After a three and-a-half years' siege, finding they had made no impression in the place and that food was growing scarce in their camp, they abandoned the undertaking. The Imperial Commander was Prince Aurangzeb. I might here say that Ali Mardan Khan on his arrival in India was amply rewarded by Shah Jahan and was given the highest position in the State. The Ravi Canal near Lahore was his work. He seems to have been a personal friend of the Emperor's and the latter mourned much his death which took place shortly before the brothers' war at the end of the reign. In Badakshan also there was fighting. This country was for a long time debateable land. The ruler Nazar Mahammad had attacked Cabul and had been driven back. In revenge for this an Imperial army under Prince Murad Buksh, one of the Emperor's sons, marched into the country. Badakshan is like many other hill countries, easy to overrun, difficult to retain. Prince Murad wished to return; so did his chief officers; thereupon the Emperor recalled Murad in disgrace and appointed Sadulla Khan as his temporary successor until the arrival of Prince Aurangzeb, the new Governor, A. D. 1646. This Prince reported that, owing to the dearth of provisions and the discontent of the troops, a return was advisable. So a treaty was

entered into with Nazar Mahammad restoring the country to him, and the troops were ordered to return to Cabul. This they did after much difficulty. Marauders hung everywhere on their rear; stragglers were murdered; treasure had to be abandoned in the snow, and finally after a loss as estimated by the Muhammedan historian of 5,000 men, a remnant of the army managed to reach Cabul in safety. In future Badakshan is not a scene of Moghul warfare.

In all this fighting at Kandahar and in Badakshan the Rajputs seem to have been foremost. The real mainstay of the military power of the Delhi Kingdom had become its Rajput contingent. A wonderful instance is this of what has so often happened; wise management turning foes into the best of friends. The Rajput, though he claimed never to have yielded to the Moghul sword, had been conquered by Akbar's and Jahangir's generosity. They became true to the Empire, devoting to it the same loyalty of service that formerly they had paid to their local chiefs.

Little Tibet also was raided by the Imperial Army A. D. 1646. Lying next to Kashmir, where Shah Jahan after the manner of his father spent several summers, in spite of its secluded position, it excited the greed of the Emperor; but the effects of this raid were by no means permanent and it really never became a part of the Delhi Empire. A campaign there, much as a campaign in Greater Tibet, is only feasible during a very few summer months, and in the absence of roads winter communication is impossible.

The Deccan wars continued off and on during the whole of the reign. Every now and again we read of an Imperial army marching into Bijapur territory; sometimes it is in pursuit of Sahu, who was ever trying to carve out some sort of principality for himself on the borderland between the Ahmudnuggur Kingdom and that of Bijapur, sometimes it is attacking the Bijapur state itself, but the story is ever monotonously the same. After a time the hot weather or rains prevent further action, the food supplies are exhausted, a nominal submission is tendered and accepted and a hurried retreat accompanied by much suffering, leaves the Imperial troops where they were before the opening of the campaign. With

Golkonda, till towards the conclusion of the reign, the wars were of but little importance; they only touched the outskirts of the Golkonda kingdom and can hardly by any force of language be termed anything more than border raids.

In the meantime the King is building, ever building. His Court at Agra, his Harem, became the most magnificent ever seen in India. Stories are told that bazaars were held within this Harem at which the wives of the great Amirs attended. These noblemen would naturally be profoundly disgusted at this; and it may help to explain how at the end of the reign, when Shah Jahan most wanted help, no help came. As the King gets older and older his passion for hoarding becomes greater and greater; and accordingly the latter years of his reign are less notable for great public works save for buildings than his earlier. In A. D. 1650 he was excused the Ramazan fast.

Muhammedans as a rule fast to a much greater age than sixty, and it is only in the case of very bad health that they omit this practice. Old age, save extreme, seldom interferes. But Shah Jahan was broken down. His Kingdom is for years almost without annals, a sign of things going well, but for this the broad administrative rules laid down by Akbar are more to be thanked, than the personal supervision of the King. At last he breaks down utterly, and this breakdown is the occasion of the most violent civil war that ever took place in the annals of Muhammedan India. Before entering into its story, a description of the main actors is necessary.

Shah Jahan had four sons—Dara Shikoh, Shujah, Aurangzeb, and Murad Buksh who grew up to manhood. I have named them in their order of age. Of them the eldest, Dara Shikoh, generally stayed with his father. He had the reputation of being in religious matters much of the same mind as his great grandfather Akbar. Muhammedan Ulema lamented his laxity of belief and practice, and the toleration which he showed towards the professors of other religions. The Jesuit priests had hopes that he might turn a Christian. He seems not to have been overcareful in what he said or did of other people's susceptibilities, and

to have also been inclined to be too free with his tongue and to have utterly despised all advice. Prince Shujah, the second son, had a much less distinctive character. Personally he was brave and seems to have been a capable Governor in Bengal; but his individuality does not come out prominently in the histories of the time. He affected Shiism for the reason, as Bernier suggests, that he might thereby gain the favour of the Persians, who were always very strong at court. Prince Aurangzeb, the third son, who subsequently became Emperor, on the other hand, stands out very distinctly. I shall subsequently, in the part of this book which relates to his reign, try to depict his character in detail. At present all I need say is, that he was a man of the most rigid Sunni orthodoxy, and of the highest capacity, that he knew how to keep his mouth shut and that personally he was inclined to asceticism. Murad Buksh, the youngest, was a regular swash-buckler, one glorying in his physical strength and in the attributes he had in common with an animal. Such were the four brothers about to fight for the Empire.

At the time to which we have got, A. D. 1657, Dara Shikoh was at Agra, Shujah in Bengal, Murad in Gujarat and Aurangzeb in the Deccan. The three last were Viceroys of the various provinces in which they were resident; Dara Shikoh, though nominally the Viceroy of Cabul, was really carrying on at Agra as his father's deputy the central Government.

In the two years preceding events had happened in the Deccan which had a profound influence on the coming civil war. My readers have been told that during this reign off and on there were hostilities with Golkonda, but that these were of a very minor character. In this state a Persian Mir Jumla had little by little, by intrigue and gifts, risen from a subordinate position to that of Chief Minister and had become enormously rich by reason of his successfully farming the diamond mines of the State. As Chief Minister he extended the State's boundaries by his conquests along the Eastern coast, particularly in the Carnatic where Tavernier, a French diamond merchant, met him. Before his time the Muhammedans had practically no hold over this part of India.

The King finally considered him too powerful a subject and determined to deprive him alike of his power and his wealth. To this he was largely urged by scandalous reports as to this Minister's relations with the Royal mother. Mir Jumla, however, was too quick for the King, and suspecting the latter's motives escaped to Moghul territory. There he was hospitably received and through the influence of Prince Aurangzeb, whose fast friend he became, was granted a position of high rank amongst the Moghul nobility. Directions were sent to the Golkonda King to allow Mir Jumla's son and dependants to follow him. The King showed no inclination to comply. Though Mir Jumla had escaped, much of his wealth was left behind and the King had no intention of giving this up. Prince Aurangzeb, on receiving a negative reply, was prompt in action. His son, Prince Mahammad Sultan, was sent with an advance force to seize Golkonda, if possible by surprise. The troops, which had been warring on the Bijapur frontier, were ordered to join Prince Aurangzeb as soon as possible; and he, with these troops and his own men, was to march forward to support Mahammad Sultan. The King of Golkonda was completely surprised. Mir Jumla's son was released by the King. They met Mahammad Sultan about 25 miles from Haidarabad (which is close to Golkonda). This town was taken almost without a struggle. Presents showered in from the Golkonda King with requests for terms, but all the time messages were being sent to the Adil Shahi King for help. It needed a sharp fight and the arrival of the main army to bring the King to terms. A krore of rupees (ten million), jewellery, elephants, and the marriage of the King's daughter to Mahammad Sultan, such were the price of peace. Mir Jumla's family rejoined him and hence his fortunes were bound up with those of Aurangzeb. The latter had the title of Muazzam Khan conferred on the wily Persian, who passed for good into the Imperial service. Shortly after these events the ruler of Bijapur died, and consequently in A. D. 1657 when the civil war began, there was no foe with whom to contend in the Deccan. On the other hand, the power of Aurangzeb had been augmented by the great wealth of Mir Jumla, which was at his service,

and his reputation had been enhanced by his recent successes. In this year Shah Jahan fell very sick. It is said that his illness was caused by strong aphrodisiacs. In any case he did not appear for a time at the Jharokha and the word spread everywhere that he was dead. Even when it was learnt that he was not dead, it was everywhere believed that his illness was mortal. Dara Shikoh's actions seemed to indicate this. Posts were stopped; every step was taken to prevent any information of what had happened in Agra getting abroad; troops were called together; arms were manufactured and everything pointed to big events. Throughout Hindustan it was known that in case of Shah Jahan's death there would be no quiet succession. Primogeniture had not established itself as the rule governing the Delhi throne. Each brother was prepared to fight for the crown; there was no fraternal affection amongst the brothers to act as a restraining force; and there was no overwhelming influence which could bring about a quiet succession. As it happened there was no waiting for the Emperor's death; he recovered to live eight years longer, for the greater part of the time a prisoner in the fort he had built; the rumour of his death was sufficient to precipitate the contest. We are indebted to a French physician, Bernier, who resided for some years after Aurangzeb's succession in the Imperial Court, to an account of the civil war that ensued. By this time Muhammedan historians have, in studying the art of flattery, largely lost the art of graphic writing; and there is a strong contrast between the life-like descriptions we get from the sixteenth century historians and the correct and polished phrases of the historians of this and the succeeding times; from these latter it is difficult to gain any life-like delineation either of the events or the actors therein. Hence Bernier is doubly welcome. The most reliable Muhammedan authority is Khafi Khan who wrote many years afterwards. In the main his and Bernier's accounts tally.

The first to move was Shujah from Bengal. He got as far as Benares. Here he was attacked by Sulaiman Shikoh, Dara Shikoh's eldest son, with an army of which the main strength was the Rajput contingent under Raja Jai Singh. Shujah was taken

by surprise, his troops were cut in pieces, and he was forced to retreat to Bengal. Stories were about that Raja Jai Singh could easily have captured Shujah but purposely forbore to do so. Probably there was considerable truth in this. What to do with him would have been the difficulty. To give him over to Dara would have been to cause himself to be detested by the father. We find that throughout this war no one of the leading generals was willing to burn his boats. They ever behaved so that if fortune did not favour the brother whose cause they espoused, they could join a second brother with a hope of being accepted by him.

After Shujah came Murad. With his Gujarat troops he besieged Surat and after a considerable siege took it. His hopes of finding great treasure therein were, it is said, disappointed. Anyhow he found enough to pay his soldiers and sufficient to keep them together. In the meanwhile a comedy had been played between Mir Junda and Aurangzeb. The former was the richest man of the time, and the troops which he led, were in comparison with the other soldiers of the day, in a state of exceedingly good discipline. His co-operation was necessary for Aurangzeb's success. The latter could not possibly move North and leave him behind in the Deccan with a force which might act in a manner hostile towards him. At the same time Mir Jumla's family were at Agra. They had gone there, really had been sent there, as hostages for Mir Jumla's conduct. If he openly joined Aurangzeb, it was to be feared that they would get but short shrift. Accordingly Aurangzeb suggested that Mir Jumla should consent to his being thrown into prison, so that Dara and Shah Jahan might believe that he continued faithful to the old Emperor and was opposed to the action of Aurangzeb. The rest of the story is told by Bernier thus: "Aureng-Zebe being no sooner gone, but the great Master of the Artillery was seen to approach with some fierceness to the Mir, and to command him in the name of Aureng-Zebe to follow him, locking him up in a chamber, and there giving him very good words, whilst all the soldiery, that Aureng-Zebe had thereabout, went to their Arms. The report of the detention of Mir Jemla was soon spread, but a great tumult arose; and those, whom he

had brought along with him, although astonished, yet put themselves into a posture of rescuing him, and with their Swords drawn ran to force the Guards, and the Gate of his Prison; which was easy for them to do: For Aureng-Zebe had not with him sufficient troops to make good so bold an Enterprize; the only name of Mir Jemla made all tremble."

The whole commotion was, however, easily quieted by the chief officers of Mir Jumla's army, who had been informed of the inwardness of the transaction and his troops joined those of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb in the meantime had been in communication with Murad.

In his letters he wrote: "I have not the slightest liking for or wish to take any part in the government of this deceitful and unstable world, my only desire is that I may make the pilgrimage to the temple of God. But whatever course you have resolved upon in opposition to the good-for-nothing and unjust conduct of our disgraceful brother (biradar-i-be-shukoh), you may consider me your sincere friend and ally. Our revered father is still alive, and I think that we two brothers should devote ourselves to his service, and to the punishment of the wilfulness of that haughty one and the presumption and conceit of that apostate. If it be possible, and we are permitted to see our father again, after exerting ourselves to put down that strife and insurrection, we will entreat the King to forgive the faults of our brother, who has involuntarily been impelled to such a course of action. After setting the government in order, and punishing the enemies of the State, our brother must be reclaimed, and he must go to pay a visit to the holy temple. It is important that you should allow of no delay in your movements, but should march at once to chastise that presumptuous infidel Jeswant Singh. You must consider me as having arrived on your side of the Nerbudda, and must look upon my numerous army and powerful artillery as the means of securing your victory. You must know that I make the Word of God my bail for this treaty and compact, and you must by all means banish suspicion from your mind."*

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 217.

Murad was won over by these fine words and the two princes' armies combined at Berhampur on their Northern march. After a month's delay they set out from this town and met no opposition until they were in the neighbourhood of Oojein where they fell in with Dara's army commanded by Kasim Khan and Raja Jeswant Singh. The former, it was universally believed, hated Dara. A great Noble about the Court, his wives had been at Shah Jahan's bazaars, and so he did not love the father either. Before the battle Aurangzeb tried negotiations. He sent to Jeswant Singh a Brahmin "called Kab, who had a great reputation as a Hindi poet and master of language, to the Raja with this message: 'My desire is to visit my father'. I have no desire for war. It is therefore desirable that you should either accompany me, or keep away from my route, so that no conflict may arise, or blood be shed."*

No reply came and both sides prepared for battle. There is little doubt that Kasim Khan's troops and he himself both behaved very badly. Jeswant Singh's Rajputs, however, fought magnificently and were cut to pieces. Only five or six hundred of them escaped. Amongst them was the Raja. When he reached home, his wife refused to receive him. She declined to accept his excuses, that he had done his best. A Rajput, she said, especially a Rajput of his lineage, should conquer or die. Then she directed a funeral pyre to be made and declared she would ascend it as a Sati, as her husband was already dead. Only after many days did she consent to receive the defeated Raja.

The Battle of Oojein took place in March 1658. In spite of the hot weather, which is very severe in the country round about Agra, the force of the Princes proceeded North East until it reached the Chambal. There it met a part of the Imperial force under Khalilullah Khan. By the aid of a Bundela Prince it managed to pass the river unmolested. Khalilullah Khan fell back on Dara's force which was encamped close to Agra. Mahammad Shikoh and Raja Jai Singh had not yet returned from the war with

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 218.

Shujah and Dara's wisest advisers counselled him to wait until their arrival.

Dara Shikoh, however, would not listen. He had by far the larger force and beyond all things he feared that Shah Jahan himself would recover sufficiently to take the field in which case it was very possible that there might be an accommodation between the brothers. On the other hand, a successful battle would make him master of the Empire and free him for ever from all fear of either of his brothers as rivals. To Shah Jahan he went and declared his intention whereupon the old man is said to have given him his blessing: "Well, Dara, since thou art resolved to follow thine own will, go, God bless thee, but remember well these few words: If thou lose the battle, take heed of ever coming into my presence." This battle which was to decide the fate of India took place on the 12th of May 1658 within a very few miles of Agra. One notable point in it and in the subsequent campaigns of the Moghuls is the number of so-called Europeans to be found in the Artillery of the Moghul forces. Most of these were probably either of mixed races, or in the case of Portuguese very often pure natives, who had simply taken the name of some Portuguese patron or master, but inasmuch as we find besides Portuguese mention of various English, French, Dutch and German Gunners, there must have been even at that early time employed in the Native Armies a fair number either of Europeans or semi-Europeans, probably chiefly deserters from the Factories on the Coast. We are too apt to think that the only Europeans at the time in the land were the writers or professional men concerning whom we get detailed notices. But there was probably many an obscure soldier who left his bones somewhere in Hindustan or the Deccan concerning whom we know nothing.

Dara's Artillery contained quite a number of these Feringees. His army was arranged for the battle thus: the cannons were placed in front chained together; behind them a number of light camels on each of which was fastened a double musket; then came the rest of the army. This as far as it consisted of Moghuls was almost entirely mounted, their weapons being chiefly bows, arrows

and swords; besides Dara had a chosen body of Rajputs whose favourite weapon was the sword. The other side was arranged very much in the same way, though Bernier mentions that in the midst of Aurangzeb's mounted men some small field pieces were hidden. The discharge of cannon on both sides commenced the battle. Rustam Khan, an old and experienced Deccan soldier, attacked Aurangzeb's guns. After a fierce onslaught he was driven back. Then came the main fight. The Rajputs under Raja Ram Singh charged right up to where Murad Bux was encouraging his troops on the back of an elephant. When quite close to this Prince an arrow, said to have been shot by Murad himself, stretched Raja Ram Singh dead. Most of the Rajputs who were with the Raja also fell. As regards the attack on Aurangzeb, which was led by Dara himself, at first all was success on the side of the eldest brother. Little by little Aurangzeb's soldiers were pressed back. Dara was ever amongst the foremost, striving to get within an arm's length of the brother whom he well knew to be his greatest rival. The Rajputs here specially distinguished themselves by their reckless courage. The Muhammedan Historian writes thus:

"The fierce Rajputs, by their energy and desperate fighting, made their way to the centre (which was under the command of Aurangzeb himself). One of them, Raja Rup Singh Rathor, sprang from his horse, and, with the greatest daring, having washed his hands of life, cut his way through the ranks of his enemies sword in hand, cast himself under the elephant on which the Prince was riding, and began to cut the girths which secured the howda. The Prince became aware of this daring attempt, and in admiration of the man's bravery, desired his followers to take the rash and fearless fellow alive, but he was cut to pieces."* Still victory seemed to favour Dara in spite of Murad's escape. His troops had been forced back and everything seemed going well. Aurangzeb to encourage his men had his elephants chained so that it might be understood that he was determined to conquer Dara

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 123.

or die, but still the battle pressed nearer and nearer him. All of a sudden the whole state of affairs changed in a way which would only be possible in an Eastern Army. Khalilullah Khan, who had been strongly suspected of treachery as regards the passage of Chambal, and who certainly seems to have played the traitor on this occasion, since he did not allow the Moghul troops under his command to take any part in the combat, rode up to Dara and addressed him according to Bernier thus: "Mobhareck-bad, Hazaret, Salamet El-hamd-ul-cllah, God save your Majesty, you have obtained the Victory; what will you do any longer upon your elephant? Is it not enough, that you have exposed yourself so long? If the least of those shots, that have been made into your dais, had reached your person, what would have become of us? Are there traitors wanting in this Army? In the name of God come down quickly, and take horse. What remains more to be done than to pursue those run-aways? Let us do so, nor let us suffer that they should escape our hands."*

Dara foolishly listened to his advice, got off his elephant and got on his horse; then when he was no more to be seen as a conspicuous signal to his force, a cry arose that he had been killed. Panic seized the army. There seemed to be nothing more to fight for, and within a very short space of time the victorious army turned into a mob of fugitives. Aurangzeb had won the day and Hindustan. We might note here, that already the military decrepitude of the Moghul armies has become very apparent. The troops which marched with Baber or with Bairam Khan in the first and second battles of Panipat would have hardly lost cohesion or turned to flight even if their commanders had been killed, but with the exception of the Rajputs, the rest of Dara's army, in this, like to other Moghul armies at the time, was neither more or less than an undisciplined mob; keen enough when they were getting the advantage, but without resource at the slightest repulse. No wonder the Empire was on the highway to decay, and that when the French and English in the following century began to employ

* Bernier, p. 123.

and drill native troops they found the ordinary armies of a Moghul ruler absolutely incapable of opposing them.

Dara fled to Agra, and from thence after a few hours stay set off to Delhi. Shah Jahan was left behind in the Agra fort. The aged Monarch invited Aurangzeb to see him within the imperial Harem, but the son was far too wary thus to give himself into the hands of his aged father. Of his two sisters the elder Begam Sahiba had been a great supporter of Dara Shikoh, but the younger Roshenara Begam was equally devoted to Aurangzeb. This Princess sent the Prince word that if he once entered the Harem he would be seized and probably murdered by the female guards. A great Moghul's Harem is a complete town in itself, and besides the royal concubines and their servants there was a regular body of armed Tartar women whose duty it was to defend the royal quarters. Aurangzeb accordingly temporised. First of all he took possession of the town and then when he found himself secure there, sent his son Mahammad Sultan to wait upon the old Emperor. The young Prince was directed to take troops with him and to seize the strong places in the fort. This he did, and Shah Jahan became from that day for the rest of his life a prisoner therein. Some of his women and much of his treasure remained with him until death. As regards his jewels which he as an old miser kept about himself, he threatened to have them all broken up if there should be any attempt to seize them and this threat seems to have been effectual; but his reign was at an end. Bernier says that he tried to win over Mahammad Sultan by promising to place him on the throne instead of any of his sons, but if he did so try he did not succeed.

By this victory Sulaiman Shikoh was cut off from his father, he being below Agra and Dara above that town fleeing towards the North-West.

Aurangzeb now sent word to Raja Jai Singh who had attended the young Prince on his campaign against Shujah to seize him. This Raja Jai Singh would not do, but he let Sulaiman Shikoh clearly understand that he must not further expect his support. Consequently with much difficulty the unfortunate Prince found his way

to Srinagar, the capital of modern Garwal, and there was given a refuge by the Raja; Garwal was not a Muhammedan country nor under the Moghul Empire, so for some time Sulaiman was allowed to reside there in peace. In the meantime at Agra, Aurangzeb still gave out that he intended to retire and seat his brother Murad on the throne. The two together started in pursuit of Dara towards Delhi. Much advice was given to Murad largely by his chief eunuch Shah Abbas that Aurangzeb intended treachery, but the foolish young Prince would not listen. At Muttra a great feast was given by Aurangzeb in his own tent to which Murad was invited. "As soon as he was come, Aurangzeb who expected him, and had already prepared all things with Mir Khan and three or four of his most intimate Captains, was not wanting in embracements, and in redoubling his courtship, civilities and submissions, in so much as gently to pass his handkerchief over his face, and to wipe off his sweat and dust, treating him still with the title of King and Majesty. In the meantime the table is served, they sup, the conversation grows warm, they discourse of various things as they used to do; and at last there is brought a huge bottle of excellent Chiras wine, and some other bottles of Gaboul wine for a debauch. Then Aurangzeb, as a grave serious man, and one that would appear a great Mahumetan, and very regular, nimbly riseth from table, and having with much kindness invited Murad Bakche to be merry with Mir Khan, and the other officers that were there, withdrew as if he would a little repose himself. Murad, who loved a glass of wine very well, and who relished the wine that was served, scrupled not to drink of it to excess. In a word, he made himself drunk, and fell asleep. This was the thing that was wished; for presently some servants of his that were there, were commanded away, under a pretence to let him sleep without making any noise; and then his sabre and poniard were taken from about him. But Aurangzeb was not long, but came himself and awakened him. He entered into the chamber, and roughly hit him with his foot, and when he began to open a little his eyes, he made to him this short and surprising reprimand. What means this, saith he? What shame and what

ignominy is this, that such a King, as you are, should have so little temper, as thus to make himself drunk? What will be said both of you and me? Take this infamous man, this drunkard; tie him hand and foot and throw him into that room to sleep out his wine.' No sooner said, but it was executed, notwithstanding all his appeal and outcry five or six persons call upon him; and fetter his hands and feet.''*

Aurangzeb's emissaries were busy during the night winning over Murad's officers and men, and so although there was a little disturbance at the time, by next morning the whole of the two armies with one voice acclaimed Aurangzeb as Padshah. A force of elephants were sent off in different directions with covered howdas to baffle pursuit in case any of Murad's adherents should attempt to rescue him. He himself was taken first of all to Selimgarh at Delhi and afterwards to the State prison at Gwalior. There he was kept for a considerable time, but he was too dangerous even in a prison to be left alone. Accordingly a charge was brought by the children of a Sayad of Gujarat against him of having when in Gujarat murdered their father. The charge was probably true, but I need hardly say it could only have been brought at Aurangzeb's suggestion. According to Bernier the Muhammedan Law of retaliation was followed. The children of the Sayad were granted the head of Murad and the necessary orders were sent to Gwalior for him to be executed by them. According to another story there was a regular trial in which he was found guilty and was in consequence bitten to death by a cobra, a favourite method of Moghul execution.

Aurangzeb with an army proceeded to Delhi. He did not enter into that town but camped in the Shulimar garden outside the walls. There, on the 16th of July 1658, he took his seat on the throne as Padshah, without troubling himself as to the elaborate ceremonies which ordinarily attended the accession of a new ruler on the Delhi throne. The Khutba was still said in his father's name and the coinage still bore the inscription of his father. It

* Bernier, pp. 158—61.

was only after his second coronation at Agra later on, that the Khutba began to be said in his own name and that he commenced having his own name stamped on the coins. Dara made no stay at Delhi and before Aurangzeb had got there, was at Lahore. But even there, he found no resting place. An advance force of Aurangzeb's army pushed on during the rains and compelled him with his remaining forces which were in a great state of disorganisation to hastily evacuate that place. He took the road to Multan, the same that Humayun had taken more than 100 years before, and this, according to the opinion at the time, was the cause of his final ruin, for if, instead of proceeding to Multan, he had proceeded to Cabul where Mahabat Khan, a well-wisher of his, was the Governor, he might easily have recruited with the treasures which he still had a fresh force, and as experience has so often shown that the physically weaker men of Hindustan but rarely have made a successful resistance against the hardy Pathans and Turks of Central Asia, the odds were that with such a force he would have been even then more than a match for Aurangzeb. Not only was Mahabat Khan a well-wisher of Dara's but his master to whom he had ever been faithful, Shah Jahan, had written him a long letter pressing him to join his force with those of Dara Shikoh. This he certainly would have done if only the latter had given him a chance. But no, he must away to Multan. The old Moghul feeling of love for the steppes seems to have been extinct in this unfortunate Prince. He dreaded the rigours of an Afghan winter and preferred to stay in the warmer lands of Hindustan. Finding that Aurangzeb was still on his track, Dara found himself compelled to desert Multan also, and proceeding down the Indus, made for the fortress of Thatta. Of this place of arms he took possession and appointed as its Governor a eunuch, leaving in that place a great part of his treasure and a number of his artillery men (Bernier says that amongst them were a good number of Feringees—Portuguese, English, French and German), and then crossing the desert, seized Ahmedabad, the Governor of which place found it expedient, although he was the father-in-law of Aurangzeb, the latter having married one of his daughters, to submit to him. In the course of a little over

a month, Dara began his march to the North having full assurance that Raja Jeswant Singh would again join him against the rigid Mussulman. In this, however, he was mistaken. Through the mediation of Raja Jai Singh, Jeswant Singh received plenary pardon from Aurangzeb, and consequently, most unlike indeed the chivalrous race to which he belonged, determined to have nothing to do with poor Dara. News of his defection reached Dara on his arrival at Ajmere. Bernier graphically describes this Prince's miserable plight thus:

"And now what could this poor Dara do? He seeth himself abandoned, and frustrated of his hopes. He considers, that to turn back safe to Amedevad (Ahmedabad) was impossible, in regard that it was a march of thirty and five daies; that it was in the heart of summer; that water would fail him; that they were all the Lands of Rajas, Friends or Allies of Iesseigne or Iessomseigne; that the army of Aurangzeb which was not harassed like his, would not fail to follow him. 'Tis as good, saith he, to perish here, and although the match be altogether unequal, let us venture all, and give battle once more."*

According to Bernier, it was hardly a battle at all. But the Muhammedan Historian Khafi Khan tells us quite a different story, for three days Aurangzeb tried and tried in vain to carry Dara's works, and on the fourth day only it was by reason of a vigorous attack, pushed home by some Rajput troops that Dara Shikoh was finally routed. Bernier also suggests that Dara's chief adviser, Shah Nawaz Khan, was a traitor and disclosed all his plans to Aurangzeb. Khafi Khan, on the other hand, states that he was the soul of the advance. Which story is true, it is difficult to say, though as Aurangzeb had married Shah Nawaz's daughter it is very possible that the statement made by Bernier is correct. On the other hand, Shah Nawaz Khan died in the battle, which would seem to support Khafi Khan. Dara Shikoh, with only a very few attendants and a few of his women, fled in the direction of Ahmedabad. This battle at Ajmere took place in the cold weather

* Bernier, pp. 203-204.

of 1658-1659. Evidently Dara Shikoh had stayed near Ajmere a considerable time. When Dara got close to Ahmedabad he found the gates of that fortress shut against him. Close to this town he met Bernier and made him for a short time in the absence of any Native Hakim his Physician, but as he set off North again on his travels and had no means of transport for the French Physician, the latter to his great delight was left behind. Bernier himself went to Ahmedabad and from thence subsequently to Delhi. Dara struck for Thatta only to learn that the garrison was at its last extremity. Instead of throwing himself into it, or making an attempt to strike for Persia, in which he would probably have succeeded, he determined largely at the solicitation of his wife, not to give up the struggle for the crown, and consequently proceeding North, entered the country of Malik Jiwan, the Zamindar of Dhandar. Here his wife died, and as the Muhammedan Historian says mountain after mountain of trouble thus pressed upon the heart of Dara, grief was added to grief, sorrow to sorrow, so that his mind no longer retained its equilibrium. Without considering the consequences, he sent her corpse to Lahore in charge of Gul Muhammad, to be buried there. He thus parted from one who had been faithful to him through his darkest troubles. He himself remained, attended only by a few domestic servants and useless eunuchs.

At last he determined on flight to Persia, but alas! it was too late. He was seized along with his grandson Sipah Shikoh. As soon as they had started on their flight both grandfather and grandson were seized by the traitor Malik Jiwan, chained and mounted upon an elephant and thus taken first of all to the Army at Thatta which town shortly after surrendered, and then brought to Delhi. Aurangzeb and his Counsellors thought it necessary that they should be publicly paraded through the principal bazaars of that town in order that there might be no doubt of Dara being really the person captured. Consequently both grandfather and grandson were marched through the Chandni Chowk. Bernier who was at Delhi at the time was surprised at this measure, inasmuch as he considered the guard round Dara insufficient to keep him a prisoner provided there was any attempt at rescue.

There was, however, none, although on every side was to be heard great lamentations for Dara who had been a very popular Prince. Malik Jiwan, who had received the title of Bahadur Khan, entered the town two days afterwards. He met a very unpleasant reception.

"The idlers, the partisans of Dara Shikoh, the workmen and people of all sorts, inciting each other, gathered into a mob, and, assailing Jiwan and his companions with abuse and imprecations, they pelted them with dirt and filth, and clods and stones, so that several persons were knocked down and killed, and many were wounded. Jiwan was protected by shields held over his head, and he at length made his way through the crowd to the palace. They say that the disturbance on this day was so great that it bordered on rebellion. If the *Kotwal* had not come forward with his policemen, not one of Malik Jiwan's followers would have escaped with life. Ashes and pots full of urine and ordure were thrown down from the roofs of the houses upon the heads of the Afghans, and many of the bystanders were injured."*

Dara Shikoh only survived this degradation a very few days. Condemned to death in accordance with a decision of the Chief Lawyers as an Apostate from Islam, he was forthwith executed. The head was carried to Aurangzeb, who presently commanded it to be put in a dish, and that water should be fetched; which when brought, he wiped off with an handkerchief, and after he had caused the face to be washed clean, and the blood done away, and was fully satisfied that it was the very head of Dara, he fell a-weeping, and said these words: "Ah! Bed bakt! Ah! unfortunate man! Take it away, and bury it in the sepulchre of Humayun."†

This was in September 1659. Sixteen months had only elapsed since he had dismounted from his elephant on that fateful day before Agra which had deprived him for ever of the crown of Hindustan. Dara Shikoh's son Sultan Shikoh did not long stay at Srinagar. Eventually the Raja of that place gave him

* Elliot, Vol. VII, pp 245-246.
† Bernier, p. 234.

up, and he was sent to Aurangzeb who sent him to the State fortress at Gwalior. State prisoners I may say at that fort did not long survive. When for any reason it was not desirable to put such a prisoner to an immediate death and his death was all the same desired, it was customary to force the unfortunate captive to drink a large cup of Poust, a concoction from opium, every morning before he was allowed to take any food. The consequence was speedy idiocy and a lingering death.

I have told the story of Dara Shikoh without break, though if the events of this civil war were to be treated chronologically, I should have had to break in more than once by recounting the fortunes of Prince Shujah. This person after his defeat by Sulaiman Shikoh had retreated to Bengal, but on the defeat of Dara and on the melting away of the force which had been commanded by Sulaiman Shikoh, again advanced up the Ganges and took both Allahabad and Benares. It was this which forced Aurangzeb to return from Multan up to which place he had pursued Dara Shikoh. The decisive battle took place at the village of Kora. Jeswant Singh, who was with Aurangzeb's forces here, acted as treacherously to him as he did a little later on to Dara when the latter marched to Ajmere. A large body of Rajputs under his command, the night before the battle, set about plundering the royal camp and having done this, as he thought satisfactorily, marched towards Agra without taking any care of the battle which was about to take place. On reaching Agra Jeswant Singh set rumours afloat that Aurangzeb had been defeated, and in consequence trouble threatened to break out on this account. The news, however, of what had really happened reached Agra very shortly after these troublesome Rajputs, and consequently all fears of disturbances in the capital disappeared. In the battle the Sayads of Barah took a leading part, as indeed they did in all the battles of that time. For a long time victory seemed doubtful. According to Bernier, Sultan Shikoh owed his final defeat to having dismounted from his elephant just as Dara had done before Agra; but whether this be so or not (Khafi Khan does not mention it) after a fiercely contested field Sultan Shikoh's troops were routed. This was at the

beginning of 1659. The defeated Prince was forced to retreat to Bengal. Aurangzeb did not himself pursue him, but returned to Agra. The rest of the story as regards this Prince may shortly be told. Mir Jumla whom we have seen locked up at the beginning of the Civil War by Aurangzeb, was released as soon as his family was out of danger by reason of Dara's flight from Agra and was sent along with Prince Muhammad Sultan, Aurangzeb's eldest son, to drive Prince Shujah out of Bengal. They experienced much the same difficulty that Humayun had more than a hundred years before in his campaign against Sher Shah owing to the flooding of this Province during the rains. Muhammad Sultan who seems to have been ever an object of suspicion to his father was seduced by Shujah's emissaries and deserted the Imperial Standard, allying himself to his uncle by a marriage with the latter's daughter. He did not, however, get on well with his new father-in-law and after a short time returned to his allegiance. This did not, however, protect him from Aurangzeb's wrath. Sent to Court, he was like any other dangerous political prisoner sent to the State fortress at Gwalior where he subsequently died. Shujah himself was finally routed and driven out of the country by Mir Jumla. Escaping to Arakan he at first managed to win the graces of the King of that country. But subsequently quarrels broke out; the King wanted to marry one of Shujah's daughters, an unpardonable insult to a Mussulman of Shujah's position. On the other hand, this Prince's followers entered into a conspiracy to kill the King and seize the country. The consequence was a slaughter of most of Shujah's followers and his own escape into the trackless forest between Arakan and Pegu where it seems he perished. Anyhow nothing was further heard of him. Shujah was finally driven from Bengal at the end of 1659 A. D., and disappeared altogether in 1660. At last Aurangzeb was free from the rivalry of his brothers, but his old father still survived and until his death the Emperor always seemed to have been fearful that Shah Jahan would be released from his prison and be set again on the throne by those that for any reason did not wish him (Aurangzeb) to reign over them. Thence for the first few years a strict

guard over the aged ex-Emperor was a cardinal point in Aurangzeb's politics.

Aurangzeb's second coronation took place early in May 1659, and it was from this date that he began those innovations in administration which eventually contributed so largely to the overthrow of the Moghul power in India. His first step was innocent enough, but still was a forecast of what was about to follow. The solar year which since the time of Akbar had been the official year of account was abolished, inasmuch as it was the year of the fire worshippers and not a Muhammedan era. In its place the old Hejira year was introduced both for Revenue and other purposes and all the festivals of the solar year were abolished. Khafi Khan, a good Muhammedan himself, remarks:

"Mathematicians, astronomers, and men who have studied history, know that the recurrence of the four seasons, summer, winter, the rainy season of Hindustan, the autumn and spring harvests, the ripening of the corn, and fruit of each season, the *tankahwah* of the jagirs, and the money of the mansabdars, are all dependent upon the solar reckoning, and cannot be regulated by the lunar; still his religious Majesty was unwilling that the *nouroz* and the year and months of the Magi should give their names to the anniversary of his accession."*

This was only the first of the many steps by which Aurangzeb attempted to turn the Empire of Hindustan into a Muhammedan State in which Hindus and other non-believers were only to exist on sufferance, and were not to be treated as having any rights against the followers of Islam. Unfortunately these Hindus and other non-believers were the majority of his subjects and naturally resented any such methods of administration. The consequence was that his reign of nearly fifty years was a reign of disintegration, and that at his death the Moghul Empire of Hindustan was tottering to its fall.

* Elliot, Vol. VII, pp. 241-242.

AURANGZEB.

AURANGZEB'S reign takes up the greater part of the second half of the seventeenth century. When it began, the Moghul Empire was, in spite of the vices of the Court and the laxity in some high places and oppression in others, in its most palmy state. When he died in 1707 A. D., although the Moghul Empire had largely increased towards the South by the accession to it of the greater part of the Indian peninsula, decay had already set in. The arches had cracked, the beams were strained, and the building showed everywhere signs of imminent fall. What was the cause of this change? Aurangzeb was a great man, much greater in intellect and also in moral force than either his father or grandfather. In his personal life he was abstemious, save as regards women, to an extreme degree, and even as regards the pleasures of the Harem he was extremely moderate. He was a hard worker, even the second Philip of Spain was not a more laborious toiler. To this ruler, indeed, he bore a considerable likeness; but in his intellect he was far keener, in his statesmanship saner and in his religious bigotry more intelligent than the monarch who threw back Spain for ever from the great nations of the earth. He had indeed a very different situation to deal with from that which confronted the Spanish Monarch. Philip had to deal with two great sets of opponents, those which struggled against his desire for Politic Absolutism and the Protestant Reformers. The latter at the start were but a small body, and as to the former, though many in number, most would have been content with a small amount of concession. It was his steady refusal to yield in the slightest to either, that caused the revolts in the Low Countries and the endless wars there, which ruined Spain. Aurangzeb had, on the other hand, no members of a new creed, few in numbers and strong only in zeal, with which to contend. But, on the other hand, he had to deal with a large majority of his subjects, the followers of an old religion, one which exerts the greatest

power over its followers, and which enters into every act of their daily life. A direct attack was accordingly impossible. It was only by gradual sap and mine that progress could be made. Throwing down the temples in cities, such as Benares and Muttra and building mosques in their place, the granting of high honours to converts, the gradual substitution of Muhammedans for Hindus, wherever practicable, in high commands, the putting down of customs dear to Hinduism as repugnant to Muhammedanism, all these were measures by which this Muhammedan missionary desired to convert the people of Hindustan into a Muhammedan community. Add that he also looked on Rajputs with a jealous eye as having more political independence than he desired, and we can easily understand why the Hindus did not love Aurangzeb. But with all this, it is doubtful whether he would not have been far more successful than he was, and whether he would not have handed down the Imperial edifice practically unimpaired, had not there arisen at the time a Hindu of as iron a resolution and of as intrepid a genius as his own. It would be idle to compare Sivaji in many ways with William the Silent, but from one point of view they have a strong resemblance. Whether Sivaji ever was a great lover of his race may be doubted, but his deep affection for his ancestral religion stands without the shadow of a doubt. First of all, as in the case of William the Silent, he was willing to remain a vassal of his Suzerain, but when he found out that Suzerain's plans both as regards himself and his religion, he not only determined on, but organised resistance; and did this latter so effectually that in spite of all Moghul endeavour, the Mahrattas became an ever increasingly powerful community, which nothing could crush and which ultimately very nearly succeeded the Moghul in the Lordship of India.

We have few estimates of Aurangzeb's character from Muhammedan writers of the time. One from Khafi Khan written after his death is short; another written during his reign is necessarily of the nature of a panegyric and is very long, but both are too illuminating to be omitted. The first runs thus:—"Of all the sovereigns of the house of Timur—nay, of all the sovereigns of Delhi—no one since Sikander Lodi has ever been apparently so distinguished

for devotion, austerity and justice. In courage, long-sufferings, and sound judgment, he was unrivalled. But from reverence for the injunctions of the Law he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of a country cannot be maintained. Dissensions had arisen among his nobles, through rivalry. So every plan and project that he formed came to little good; and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution, and failed of its objects. Although he lived for ninety years, his five senses were not at all impaired, except his hearing, and that to only so slight an extent that it was not perceptible to others. He often passed his nights in vigils and devotions, and he denied himself many pleasures naturally belonging to humanity."*

My readers will note with surprise that Aurangzeb was slow to punish, but the history of his whole reign shows that, save in cases where he feared for his throne, particularly from his relations, he was exceedingly lenient. Pyramids of skulls had no fascination for him. We read nowhere in his reign of massacres, nor of cruelty such as is to be found in the annals of the earlier Moghuls. On the other hand, it would have been better for him and for India, indeed, if at times he had shown a little more hardness, especially to his own officers, who constantly neglected or disobeyed his orders. The other estimate of Aurangzeb's character is much more elaborate. "Be it known to the readers of this work that this humble slave of the Almighty is going to describe in a correct manner the excellent character, the worthy habits and the refined morals of this most virtuous monarch, Abu-l Muzafiar Muhi-ud-din Muhammad Aurangzeb, Alamgir, according as he has witnessed them with his own eyes.

The Emperor, a great worshipper of God, by natural propensity, is remarkable for his rigid attachment to religion. He is a follower of the doctrines of the Imam Abu Hanifa (may God be pleased with him), and establishes the five fundamental doctrines of the *Kanz*. Having made his ablutions, he always occupies a great part of his time in adoration of the deity, and says the usual prayers, first in the Musjid and then at home, both in congregation

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 386.

and in private, with the most heart-felt devotion. He keeps the appointed fasts on Fridays and other sacred days, and he reads the Friday prayers in the Juma Musjid with the common people of the Muhammedan faith. He keeps vigils during the whole of the sacred nights, and with the light of the favour of God illumines the lamps of religion and prosperity. From his great piety, he passes whole nights in the mosque which is in his palace, and keeps company with men of devotion. In privacy he never sits on a throne. He gave away in alms before his accession a portion of his allowance of lawful food and clothing, and now devotes to the same purpose the income of a few villages in the district of Delhi, and the proceeds of two or three salt-producing tracts, which are appropriated to his privy purse. The princes also follow the same example. During the whole month of Ramazan he keeps fast, says the prayers appointed for that month, and reads the Holy Koran in the assembly of religious and learned men, with whom he sits for that purpose during six, and sometimes nine hours of the night. During the last ten days of the month, he performs worship in the mosque, and although on account of several obstacles, he is unable to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, yet the care which he takes to promote facilities for pilgrims to that holy place may be considered equivalent to the pilgrimage. From the dawn of his understanding he has always refrained from prohibited meats and practices, and from his great holiness has adopted nothing but that which is pure and lawful. Though he has collected at the foot of his throne those who inspire ravishment in joyous assemblies of pleasure, in the shape of singers who possess lovely voices and clever instrumental performers, and in the commencement of his reign sometimes used to hear them sing and play, and though he himself understands music well, yet now for several years past, on account of his great restraint and self-denial, and observant of the tenets of the great Imam (Shafi) (may God's mercy be on him), he entirely abstains from this amusement. If any of the singers and musicians becomes ashamed of his calling, he makes an allowance for him or grants him land for his maintenance. He never puts on the clothes prohibited by religion, nor does he ever use vessels of silver or gold.

In his sacred Court no improper conversation, no word of backbiting or falsehood, is allowed. His courtiers, on whom his light is reflected, are cautioned that if they have to say anything that might injure the character of an absent man, they should express themselves in decorous language and at full detail. He appears two or three times every day in his court of audience with a pleasing countenance and mild look, to dispense justice to complainants who come in numbers without any hindrance, and as he listens to them with great attention, they make their representations without any fear or hesitation, and obtain redress from his impartiality. If any person talks too much, or acts in an improper manner, he is never displeased, and he never knits his brows. His courtiers have often desired to prohibit people from showing so much boldness, but he remarks that by hearing their very words, and seeing their gestures, he acquires a habit of forbearance and tolerance. All bad characters are expelled from the city of Delhi, and the same is ordered to be done in all places throughout the whole Empire. The duties of preserving order and regularity among the people are very efficiently attended to, and throughout the Empire, notwithstanding its great extent, nothing can be done without meeting with the due punishment enjoined by the Muhammedan Law. Under the dictates of anger and passion he never issues orders of death. In consideration of their rank and merit, he shows much honour and respect to the Sayads, saints and learned men, and through his cordial and liberal exertions, the sublime doctrines of Hanifa and of our pure religion have obtained such prevalence throughout the wide territories of Hindustan as they never had in the reign of any former king.

Hindu writers have been entirely excluded from holding public offices, and all the worshipping places of the infidels and the great temples of these infamous people have been thrown down and destroyed in a manner which excites astonishment at the successful completion of so difficult a task. His Majesty personally teaches the sacred kalima to many infidels with success, and invests them with khillats and other favours. Alms and donations are given by this fountain of generosity in such abundance, that the Emperors of past ages did not give even a hundredth part of the amount. In

the sacred month of Ramazan sixty thousand rupees, and in other months less than that amount, are distributed among the poor. Several eating houses have been established in the Capital and other cities, at which food is served out to the helpless and poor, and in places where there were no caravanserais for the lodging of the travellers, they have been built by the Emperor. All the mosques in the Empire are repaired at the public expense. Imams, criers to the daily prayers, and readers of the khutba, have been appointed to each of them, so that a large sum of money has been and is still laid out in these disbursements. In all the cities and towns of this extensive country pensions and allowances and lands have been given to learned men and professors, and stipends have been fixed for scholars according to their abilities and qualifications. As it is a great object with this Emperor that all Muhammedans should follow the principles of the religion as expounded by the most competent law officers and the followers of the Hánifi persuasion, and as these principles, in consequence of the different opinions of the Kazis and Muftis which have been delivered without any authority, could not be distinctly and clearly learnt, and as there was no book which embodied them all, and as until many books had been collected and a man had obtained sufficient leisure, means and knowledge of theological subjects, he could not satisfy his enquiries on any disputed point, therefore His Majesty, the protector of the faith, determined that a body of eminently learned and able men of Hindustan should take up the voluminous and most trustworthy works which were collected in the royal library, and having made a digest of them, compose a book which might form a standard canon of the law, and afford to all an easy and available means of ascertaining the proper and authoritative interpretation. The chief conductor of this difficult undertaking was the most learned man of the time, Shaikh Nizam, and all members of the society were very handsomely and liberally paid, so that up to the present time a sum of about two hundred thousand rupees has been expended in this valuable compilation, which contains more than one hundred thousand lines. When the work with God's pleasure is completed, it will be for all the world the standard

exposition of the law, and render every one independent of Muhammedan doctors.''*

After due deductions for the long hyperboles of Eastern flattery the picture drawn is on the whole true. Aurangzeb was in many ways a typical Muhammedan religious king. With him religion was always the first thought. His method of gaining the throne was indeed crooked to the extreme and pleas of religion were in this case, indeed, but an excuse for worldly gain. His objections to his brothers as irreligious, however sincere, were not the motive forces in his conduct, and the ruling motive in the wars conquering the throne, was without a doubt self-aggrandizement. Even when Emperor, no blood relationship was sacred if he had the slightest suspicion of such blood relation aiming at the throne. After he had obtained the throne too and ruled in peace and safety, as far as an Eastern Sovereign ever can or could, he still preferred the crooked rather than the straight course; was full of trickery and deceit and did not hesitate where he thought it desirable to poison or get rid of any person whom he thought were plotting against him. But granted all this, save as regards his retention of the Imperial power, there is no doubt that the glory and spread of the Muhammedan religion was ever foremost in his thoughts. Like many another ruler too, probably he was thoroughly persuaded that the cause of his religion and his own interests were identical, and that no other person save himself could be so helpful on the throne of Delhi to the spread of Islam. It will be noted in the extract which I have quoted from Bakhtawar Khan that though he loved music he kept from it on account of his following in this respect the teaching of the great Muhammedan Doctor, Shafi. He carried his religious objections to it so far that at last he passed a prohibition against singing and dancing alike. ''One day a number of singers and minstrels gathered together with great cries, and having fitted up a bier with a good deal of display, round which were grouped the public wailers,† they passed under the Emperor's jharokha-i-darsan, or interview window. When he inquired what was intend-

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 156.

† *Note.*—Public wailers are prohibited in the Koran, but practically the habit which prevailed before the days of Muhammad, has never ceased in Muhammedan countries.

ed by the bier and the show, the minstrels said that music was dead, and they were carrying his corpse for burial. Aurangzeb then directed them to place it deep in the ground, that no sound or cry might afterwards arise from it."*

One great service Aurangzeb did to Muhammedanism, the benefits of which has come down to this day and this was the direction to codify the Muhammedan Law as expounded by the school of Hanifa. The work then compiled is known as the Fatwa Alamgiri. This is what English lawyers would call a digest, a vast number of concrete cases with the opinions (Fatwa) of Muhammedan lawyers on them and the reasons for the same.

A story is told by Bernier and also by Manucci—a Venetian physician many years at Shah Jahan's and Aurangzeb's Court of an old tutor of Aurangzeb's having presented himself to his former pupil in hopes of obtaining preferment by reason of Aurangzeb's having ascended the Imperial throne. Bernier tells us that for three months the Emperor took no notice of him and that when he did, he addressed him in a long speech which he gives at length. I reproduce it, though it be long, as if it does not represent Aurangzeb's own thoughts, it represents what the author of the speech thought that he should have thought.

"What is it you would have of me, doctor? Can you reasonably desire I should make you one of the chief omrahs of my Court? Let me tell you if you had instructed me as you should have done, nothing would be more just: For I am of this persuasion, that a child well educated and instructed, is as much at least obliged to his master as his father? But where are those good documents you have given me. In the first place, you have taught me that all Frangistan (so it seems they call Europe) was nothing, but I know not what little Island, of which the greatest king was he of Portugal, and next to him he of Holland, and after him he of England; and as to the other kings as those of France and Andalusia, you have represented them to me as our petty Rajas; telling me that the kings of Hindostan were far above them all together, and that they were the true and only Houmayons, the Ekbars, the

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 283.

Jehan-Guyres, the Chah-Jehans, the fortunate ones, the great ones, the conquerers and kings of the World; and that Persia, and Usbec, Kach-guer, Tatar and Catay, Pegu, China and Mat-china did tremble at the names of the kings of Indostan: admirable geography. You should rather have taught me exactly to distinguish all those different states of the world, and well to understand their strength, their way of fighting, their customs, religions, governments and interests; and by the perusal of solid history to observe their progress, rise, decay, and whence, how and by what accidents and errors those great changes and revolutions of Empires and Kingdoms have happened. I have scarce learned of you the name of my Grand Sires, the famous founders of this empire; so far were you from having taught me the history of their life, and what course they took to make such great conquests. You had a mind to teach me the Arabian tongue, to read and to write; I am much obliged to you forsooth for having made me lose so much time upon a language that requires ten or twelve years to attain to its perfection; as if the son of a king should think it to be an honour to him, to be a grammarian, or some doctor of the law, and to learn other languages than those of his neighbours, when he cannot well be without them; he, to whom time is so precious for so many weighty things, which he ought by times to learn. As if there were any spirit that did not with some reluctancy, and even with a kind of debasement, employ itself in so sad and dry an exercise, so longsome and tedious, as is that of learning words."* "Know you not, that childhood well governed, being a state which is ordinarily accompanied with a happy memory, is capable of thousands of good precepts and instructions, which remain deeply impressed the whole remainder of a man's life, and keep the mind always raised for great actions? The law, prayers, and sciences may they not as well be learned in our mother-tongue as in Arabick? You told my father Chah-Jehan, that you would teach me philosophy. 'Tis true, I remember very well, that you have entertained me for many years with airy questions, of things that afford no satisfaction at all to the mind, and are of no use in humane society, empty notions,

* Bernier, p. 78.

and meer phancies, that have only this in them, that they are very hard to understand, and very easie to forget, which are only capable to tire and spoil a good understanding, and to breed an opinion that is unsupportable. I still remember, that after you had thus amused me, I know not how long, with your fine philosophy, all I retained of it, was a multitude of barbarous and dark words, proper to bewilder, perplex and tire out the best wits, and only invented, the better to convey the vanity and ignorance of men like yourself, that would make us believe that they know all, and that under those obscure and ambiguous words are hid great mysteries, which they alone are capable to understand: If you had seasoned me with that philosophy, which formeth the mind to ratiocination, and insensibly accustoms it to be satisfied with nothing but solid reasons; if you had given me those excellent precepts and doctrines which raise the soul above the assaults of fortune, and reduce her to an unshakeable and always equal temper, and permit her not to be lifted up by prosperity, nor debased by adversity; if you had taken care to give me the knowledge of what we are, and what are the first principles of the things: and had assisted me in forming in my mind a fit idea of the greatness of the universe, and of the admirable order and motion of the parts thereof; if, I say, you had instilled into me this kind of philosophy, I should think myself incomparably more obliged to you than Alexander was to his Aristotle; and believe it my duty to recompense you otherwise, than he did him. Should not you instead of flattery, have taught me somewhat of that point, so important to a king, which is, what the reciprocal duties are of a sovereign to his subjects, and those of subjects to their sovereign? And ought not you to have considered, that one day I should be obliged with the sword to dispute my life and the crown with my brothers? Is not that the destiny almost of all the sons of Indostan? Have you ever taken any care to make me learn, what it is to besiege a town, or to set an army in array? For these things I am obliged to others, not at all to you. Go, and retire to the village, whence you are come, and let no body know who you are, or what is become of you.''*

* Bernier, p. 82.

The whole speech shows undoubted signs of having been edited if not entirely invented by some European. No Muhammedan, no orthodox, devout Muhammedan, such as Aurangzeb could possibly have uttered the tirade against Arabic that is set forth in this speech. The references to European states is not in the least like what any haughty Moghul prince, and least of all one like Aurangzeb would have uttered; nor are the references to a literary tutor instructing his pupil in the arts of war what any sensible person would have said and the Emperor at least had sense. The whole speech savours of a lively French invention; it is what we might expect from a Frenchman living in the same half century as Fenelon and the other moral authors of Louis XIV's Court, but beyond the fact that the tutor did not get what he wanted and was sent away without having been shown any favour, it is not safe to accept any other part of the story. Bernier has indeed only used the same license which other ancient and medieval writers have used, *i.e.*, of putting into their hero's mouth what they think they should have said without knowing in the least what they actually did say.

One great difficulty in writing the history of the reign of Aurangzeb is the fact that in the tenth year of his reign he forbade any history of his time being written. This prohibition was issued suddenly. Previous to it encouragement had been given to Muhammad Kazim, who might be styled the Imperial Historian, to write an official account of the reign; an Alamgirnama. The consequence is that although much nearer our time, we have much less complete information concerning this period as regards the general affairs of the Empire at least—than we have concerning the days of Akbar. There are here no series of writers to compare with each other, such as Budaoni, Nizam Uddin and Abul Fazl. One Muhammedan historian alone, Hashim Ali Khan, gives us a consecutive and detailed account of the forty-nine years of Aurangzeb's government. This author's history was published during the half century which followed the Emperor's death. He was employed in public duties by the Emperor during the later part of his reign, and there is no reason to doubt his authority in all its main lines. The later Muhammedan historians use the terms of flattery without stint when there is

anything to gain by so doing, they have also a great love of fine—absurdly fine, we English think it—writing. This style of composition is indeed almost universally prevalent in Indian historical writers who use the Persian language; a history without a reference to a nightingale or a garden is hardly to be met. But all the same the kernel of veracity, the desire to tell what is true, and the trouble to find it out, are everywhere to be found in our Indian Muhammedan historians. They have the practical historical sense strongly developed, and their accounts are to be preferred to those of any European traveller when one wishes really to study the history of the times. European visitors to India may be taken to truly report what they themselves have seen; but a great part of their writings is taken up with what they have heard and much of this must have been from their own servants, the most unreliable of all native sources. On the other hand, the Muhammedan historian is nearly always a Court official, generally of some standing, so were our great historiographers of Akbar's time; and so was Hashim Ali Khan, who is better known as Khafi Khan. Whether he got the name Khafi, inasmuch as his writings were Khafi (concealed) during Aurangzeb's time, or whether it was because he came from Khaf near Nishapur in Persia, matters but little. In any case he tells us in his great work the Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, the method how he came to put together his work.* "After the expiration of ten years (of the reign), authors were forbidden to write the events of this just and righteous Emperor's reign. Nevertheless some competent persons (did write), and particularly Musta'idd Khan, who secretly wrote an abridged account of the campaign in the Dakhin, simply detailing the conquests of the countries and forts, without alluding at all to the misfortunes of the campaign; and Bindraban, who wrote an abridged account of the events of some years of the second and third decades. But I have never seen nor obtained any history that contains a full and detailed account of the forty remaining years of the reign. Consequently, from the eleventh to the twenty-first year of the Emperor's reign, I have not been able to relate the events in the order in which they occurred, giving the month and

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 282.

year; but after this year with very great labour and pains, I collected information from the papers in the public offices, and by inquiry made from truthful persons, the confidential and old servants of the Emperor and old eunuchs. This, and whatsoever I myself observed, after attaining years of discretion, for thirty or forty years I laid up in the strong box (of my memory), and that I have written. And since I heard that Bindraban Das Bahadur Shahi, who was long a mutasaddi of Shah Alam during the time he was a prince, had compiled a history, and had included in it an account of upwards of thirty years, being exceedingly anxious to see it, I made great search for it. Subsequently when, after great trouble, I obtained a copy, and examined it carefully from beginning to end, in the hope that I might gather the rich fruits of his labours, I discovered that his work did not contain one-half of what I had collected and included in my own history."

In another place he tells us how he got his material together. "The attempt to write an epitome of the fifty years' reign of this illustrious monarch is like trying to measure the waters of the sea in a pitcher. The affairs of the last forty years in particular are a boundless ocean, which authors have shrunk from committing to the thread of narrative. But for all this, the writer of these pages has resolved that to the best of his ability, and with the most active exertion, after the most exhaustive enquiry and complete investigation, he will narrate some events capable of narration which he has heard from the tongues of men advanced in years, which he has fully verified by inquiries from men in office and from writers of official despatches, and by evidence of his own eyes during this period of time."*

The result is a history, which if not abounding in detail throughout, such as some of the earlier histories give, is still a very clear account of Aurangzeb's reign. From it we can clearly understand how the disruptive forces, which after Aurangzeb's death broke asunder the Moghul Empire, gathered force in this reign, and how Aurangzeb's policy helped rather than restrained them. Other sources of the history of the time are Rajputs and Mahratta annals

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 212.

and documents and also the records of the European Factories on the coast, particularly of the English Factory at Madras. But all these relate almost entirely to local matters and the history of the Empire as a whole we can only get from Khafi Khan.

II.

Aurangzeb, known commonly in Oriental history as Alamgir, was born in 1619 A. D. at Dhud in the Deccan, where his father Shah Jehan was at the time Subahdar. He reigned from A. D. 1658 till 1707 A. D. being nearly eighty-eight at the time of his death, an age which but few Kings of the West have ever exceeded. Indeed of rulers of modern times, who have also been makers of history I can only name two, William the First of Germany and Pope Leo the XIII. I have already told the tale of how Aurangzeb gained the Empire. His sister Roshanara was supposed to have great influence over him and certainly helped him in various ways to get the Crown. She was not however an influence at Court for long. Scandalous stories about her amours are repeated by European writers and it is certain that after the first few years of the reign she disappears from history. Her elder sister Begam Sahiba stayed with Shah Jahan to the last. For a long time she would have nothing to do with Aurangzeb, but eventually there seems to have been a reconciliation between them. For long she opposed Dara Shikoh's daughter who was with the grandfather in the Agra Fort being given in marriage to Akbar, Aurangzeb's third son; but after a time this opposition ceased, and it would seem that after Shah Jahan's death she on more occasions than one successfully interceded with Aurangzeb. Other women of the harem whose names are mentioned as having influenced affairs are Fakhrun Nissa, Aurangzeb's eldest daughter, and Udaipuri, a Georgian Christian, first of all a concubine of Dara Shikoh and afterwards of the Emperor himself. Neither of them seem really to have had much influence over Aurangzeb, who throughout his reign, really ruled throughout as King alone.

Aurangzeb celebrated his succession in the ordinary way of princes, especially of princes who have succeeded after civil strife

to the throne. He reduced the taxes. "To comfort the people and alleviate their distress, the Emperor gave orders for the remission of the rahdari (toll) which was collected on every highway (guzar), frontier and ferry, and brought in a large sum to the revenue. He also remitted the pandari, a ground or house cess, which was paid throughout the Imperial dominions by every tradesman and dealer, from the butcher, the potter, and the greengrocer, to the draper, jeweller, and banker. Something was paid to the government according to rule under this name for every bit of ground in the market, for every stall and shop, and the total revenue thus derived exceeded lacs (of rupees). Other cesses, lawful and unlawful, as the sar-shumari, buzshumari, bar-gadi, the charai (grazing tax) of the Banjaras, the tuwa'ana, the collections from the fairs held at the festivals of Muhammedan saints, and at the jatras or fairs of the infidels, held near Hindu temples, throughout the country far and wide, where lacs of people assemble once a year, and where buying and selling of all kinds goes on, the tax on spirits, on gambling-houses, on brothels, the fines, thank-offerings, and the fourth part of debts recovered by the help of Magistrates from creditors,—these and other imposts, nearly eighty in number, which brought in krores of rupees to the public treasury, were all abolished throughout Hindustan. Besides these, the tithe of corn, which lawfully brought in twenty-five lacs of rupees, was remitted in order to alleviate the heavy cost of grain. To enforce these remissions, stringent orders were published everywhere throughout the provinces by the hands of mace-bearers and soldiers (ahadis)."* But our author tells us that in spite of these remissions, save as regards the pandari which was collected chiefly in the large cities, the abolition had no effect. Local governors did not hesitate to collect the abolished taxes in spite of all orders to the contrary. "Firstly, because throughout the Imperial dominions in the reign of Aurangzeb, no fear and dread of punishment remained in the hearts of the jaghirdars, faujdars, and zamindars; secondly, because the revenue officers, through inattention or want of consideration, or with an eye to

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 246.

profit, contrary to what was intended, made deductions (for these cesses) from the tankhwah accounts of the jaghirdars. So the jaghirdars, under the pretext that the amount of the cesses was entered in their tankhwah papers, continued to collect the rahdari and many others of the abolished imposts, and even increased them. When reports reached the government of infractions of these orders, the offenders were punished with a diminution of mansab, and the delegation of mace-bearers to their districts. After a while, the offenders, through their patrons or the management of their agents, got their mansab restored to its original amount. So the regulation for the abolition for most of the imposts had no effect.

The rahdari in particular is condemned by righteous and just men as a most vexatious impost, and oppressive to travellers, but a large sum is raised by it. In most parts of the Imperial territories the faujdars and jaghirdars, by force and tyranny, now exact more than ever from the traders and poor and necessitous travellers. The zamindars also, seeing that no enquiries are made, extort more on roads within their boundaries than is collected on roads under royal officers. By degrees matters have come to such a pass, that between the time of leaving the factory or port and reaching their destination, goods and merchandize pay double their cost price in tolls. Through the villainy and oppression of the toll-collectors and the zamindars, the property, the honcur, and the lives of thousands of travellers and peaceful wayfarers are frittered away.''* Nowadays under the British Government such acts on the part of a Local authority would not be possible. But let not my readers think, that even with the British Government, orders in such matters and obedience are the same thing. The West is still the West and the East is still the East, and as regards the taking of something beyond the legal demand, in spite of all the British Government can do, the thing is carried on to this day. Taking a present is unknown amongst the upper classes of public servants in India at present, but amongst the lower classes whether it be the petty station master, who obtains a present from the merchant to whom he allots a

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 248.

wagon for his goods or the Police subordinate officer for his assistance in trouble, the practice, if not universal, is very common and can only be cured not by law but by opinion, and such opinion does not at present exist. As regards rahdari, there are octroi taxes levied by certain of the municipalities of Upper India to this day; if goods pass only through there is a refund given, but I have often heard it stated that merchants would prefer a small tax and no refund, so troublesome is it to get the same, chiefly through the necessity of satisfying some one concerned with a present.

For the first few years after his succession Aurangzeb sate at the Jharokha, as his predecessors had done, but after a time he discontinued this practice. Although religious reasons were given for this, as indeed for almost everything he did, there is very little doubt that other reasons prompted Aurangzeb. It was often very inconvenient for one thing,—again if the Emperor did not appear at the fixed hours, stories of his illness, and if he stayed away successively for several days, of his death got about. Aurangzeb was on various occasions in the early part of his reign seriously indisposed and had to forego for a considerable time attending at the window. Hence much confusion had more than once happened. Then I fancy for a statesman like Aurangzeb this daily appearance was distasteful inasmuch as it involved a great waste of time. All the same this discontinuance seems to have been impolitic. It did away with the personal link between ruler and subject, forged by the fact that once a day at least the former was seen by, and was ready to listen to the latter.

Shortly after Aurangzeb's accession came embassies to him from Persia, Mawar-un-Nahr, the Dutch Eastern Colonies, the Sharif of Mecca, the Prince of Bassora, and Abyssinnia. The last consisted of two Ambassadors, one a slave dealer and the other an Armenian merchant. Bernier's description of it is very amusing. The Abyssinnian King, in spite of his profession of Christianity, was much more of a savage than the Muhammedan rulers whose countries were near his. A large portion of his presents consisted in slaves, boys fit to be made eunuchs, another portion was purchased by the sale of slaves consigned for the purpose to Mecca, a third

part consisted of two elephants' tusks filled with civet, horses and a zebra. Only a small part of this wealth reached Delhi. The slaves sold badly at Mecca, a number of those intended as a present to Aurangzeb died on the way, so did several of the horses and the zebra, and while they were at the port of Surat, Sivaji, the Mahratta, came and looted the town and with the town most of their goods. So they came to Delhi in a miserable plight and were told by the people of that town that they were lucky in having so good an excuse as the sack of Surat to hide their nakedness and that by reason of this excuse they were able to beg for provisions and clothes. All the same Aurangzeb duly received them in audience, made them considerable presents in cash which they spent in India mainly in the purchase of cloth, which article was in those days at a great premium in Abyssinnia and sent them away contented. Bernier wanted to buy the Armenian's illegitimate son from him, to which the father at first consented but subsequently broke his word, demanding a much higher price than he had first asked. This seems to have lessened the friendship between the two, and Bernier complains of the ambassadors having promised Aurangzeb to intercede with their King to allow a broken down mosque to be rebuilt, and also for their having asked for a Koran and other Muhammedan religious books for their Master—matters which at the present day would not be subject to adverse comment. As to the Mecca and Bassora Embassies, these, Bernier says, obviously came only for the sake of the present to be given in return; so but little notice was taken of them. The Dutch Embassy which was well appointed and well served, came in order to obtain orders from Aurangzeb to the local officials not to molest them in their trade and in this they were fairly successful, but it was at the expense of Monsieur Adrican, their ambassador's secretary, who died at Agra, as also did various of the retinue.

More important in the eyes of the Court were the Embassies from Mawar-un-Nahr and from Persia. Bernier was present at the reception of the first and so describes it.

"They made their reverence at a considerable distance from him after the Indian custom, putting thrice their hands upon their heads, and as often letting them down to the ground. Then they approached so near, that Aurangzeb himself might very well have taken their letters immediately from their hands; but yet it was an Omrah that took and opened them, and gave them to him. He forthwith read them with a very grave countenance; and afterwards commanded, there should be given to each of them an embroider'd Vest, a Turban, and a girdle of silk in embroidery, which is that which they call Ser-Apah, that is, an habit from head to foot. After this their presents were called for, which consisted in some boxes of choice Lapis Lazulis, divers Camels with long hair, several gallant horses, some camel-loads of fresh-fruit, as apples, pears, raisins, and melons; for 'tis chiefly Usbec which furnishes these sorts of fruit, eaten at Delhi (all the winter long), and in many loads of dry fruit, as prunes of Bokhara, Aprecocks, Raisins without any stones that appeared, and two other sorts of Raisins, black and white, very large and good. Aurangzeb was not wanting to declare how much he was satisfied with the generosity of the Khans, and much commended the beauty and rarity of the Fruit, Horses, and Camels; and after he had a little entertained them of the state of the Academy of Samarkand, and of the fertility of their country, abounding in so many rare and excellent things, he desired them to go and repose themselves, intimating withall, that he should be very glad to see them often."* Bernier remarks that they had no objection to make their reverence after the Indian custom though it had something of slavish in it. Throughout the East extreme professions of humility are not despised as they are with Englishmen and what seems to the latter as beneath the dignity of man is to the Eastern but a respectful salutation. Although the Uzbeg Ambassadors were thus received with due honour, they were not allowed to depart in a hurry. To have permitted this would have been totally opposite to Eastern Court practice, where so far from punctuality being the politeness of Kings, no one is considered as being possessed of dignity, who does not show it by keeping others waiting. The

* Bernier, II, p. 3.

Ambassadors had to stay in Delhi four months and during that time there was much sickness amongst them, caused so Bernier tells us chiefly by their filthy method of living and their poor eating. He went to dine with them once and found that their main food was horse flesh. They hardly talked at all during their meal, in this resembling other Easterns, but after dinner bragged much of their skill with the bow and of their women. These latter they praised not for their beauty or their skill in keeping the house but for their prowess as warriors. At last they were let go and carried off very valuable presents both in cash and kind, the latter consisting chiefly of embroidered cloth. Last of all came the Persian Embassy. The Persian Kings, ever since there commenced to be a national dynasty, had always considered themselves to be the greatest Kings of the East and under their great King Shah Abbas who reigned the first half of the seventeenth century and who died only shortly before Aurangzeb's accession, had a good claim to be so considered. Such a kingdom could not be expected to be over-speedy in the despatch of an Embassy, nor when despatched could it be over speedy in its movements. Majestically it came; majestically it was received. Bernier describes the reception thus "Meantime, on the day of the Entry, this Ambassador was received with all possible respect: The Bazars, through which he passed, were all new painted, and the Cavalry attending on the way for above the length of a whole league. Many Omrahs accompanied him with Music, Tymbals, and Trumpets, and when he entered into the Fortresse, or the Palace of the King, the Guns went off. Aurangzeb received him with much civility, and was content that he should make his Addresse to him after the Persian mode, receiving also, without any scruple, immediately from his hands the Letters of his King; which out of respect he lifted up even to his head, and afterwards read them with a grave and serious countenance: Which done he caused an embroider'd Vest to be brought, together with a rich Turban and Girdle, commanding it to be put on him in his presence. A little after it was intimated to him, that he might order his Present to be brought in, which consisted of five and twenty as handsome Horses as ever I saw, led, and cover'd with

embroider'd trappings; and of twenty very stately and lusty Camels, as big as Elephants: Moreover of a good number of Boxes said to be full of most excellent Rose-water, and of a certain distilled water, very precious, and esteemed highly cordial: besides there were display'd five or six very rich and very large Tapisseries, and some embroider'd pieces exceeding Noble, wrought in small flowers, so small and delicate, that I know not whether in all Europe any such can be met with. To all this were added four Damaskin'd Swords, with as many Poynards, all cover'd with Jewels; as also five or six harnasses of Horses, which were much esteem'd, being also very fine and rich, the stuff being raised with rich embroidery set with small pearls, and very fair Turcoises of the old Rock.

It was observ'd, that Aurangzeb beheld this present very attentively; that he admired the beauty and rarity of every piece, and that several times he extolled the Generosity of the King of Persia; assigning to the Ambassador a place among his chief Omrahs. And after he had entertained him a while with a discourse about the inconveniences and hardships of his Voyage, he dismissed him, and made instance, that he should come every day to see him."*

There were no quarrels as to the method of coming to the royal presence and of the method of salutation as there had been in Shah Jahan's days when the latter tried to force the Persian Ambassadors to salute him in Indian fashion, but things do not seem to have run altogether smoothly. Stories were about that the King of Persia had written strong letters of reproach to Aurangzeb, complaining of his conduct to his father, to his brother Dara Shikoh, of his having taken to himself the title of Alamgir and the like. This, Bernier rightly remarks, was not likely. Unless the Persian King had wanted war he would not have sent such messages; and if he had so wanted, we may be sure that it would have come about. But all the same Aurangzeb was not altogether pleased with the Embassy for Bernier tells us that—"Two or three daies after he had dismissed him, he made a rumour to be spread abroad, that the Ambassador had caused the ham-strings of the presented horses to be cut; and the Ambassador being yet upon the frontiers, he

* Bernier, p. 63.

made him return all the Indian slaves which he carried along with him, of which he had a prodigious number.''*

NOTE.—"They say, that Shah Jahan seeing that the Courtship and promises made to their Ambassador were not able to prevail with him, so as to make him perform his salute after the Indian mode, he devised this artifice; he commanded to shut the Great Gate of the Court of the Am-khas, where he was to receive him, and to leave only open the Wicket, through which one man could not passe but very difficultly, by stooping and holding down his head, as the fashion is when one maketh an Indian reverence, to the end that it might be said, he had made the Ambassador put himself in a posture which was something lower than the Indian Salam or Salute; but that Ambassador being aware of this trick, came in with his Back foremost: And that Shah Jahan, out of indignation to see himself catcht, told him, Eh-Bed-bakt, Thou Wretch, dost thou think thou comest into a stable of Asses, such as thou art? And that the Ambassador, without any alteration, answered: Who would not think so, seeing such a little door?"—*Bernier's History of the Revolution of the Empire of Mogols*, p. 72 (1671).

Aurangzeb's relations with states beyond the Indian Continent were of very minor importance. His life's work was almost entirely with Hindustan. And here, he had in the first instance to settle what to do with Amir Jumla, whose help had so largely aided in making him Emperor. We have seen that Amir Jumla had been with Aurangzeb's son in Bengal in the pursuit of Shuja and that he remained faithful when that son for a time revolted from his father. With the recall of the Prince, Amir Jumla was the sole head of the Bengal Army and accordingly he was forthwith made Viceroy of that province and given the title of Khan Khanan. His son, however, was kept with Aurangzeb. The Emperor had too much personal experience of intrigue to allow Amir Jumla the freedom that an Eastern feels when he knows that none of his family are in his superior's power. It is of this son that Bernier writes that, though a mere Umra he is still so much respected as his father's son, especially on the Eastern coast, where his father when in the service of the Golkonda Kings had been all powerful, that at Mazulipatam his ships were allowed to come and go without paying any custom due for the goods they brought—no imperial officers daring to demand anything from them. Amir Jumla himself did not live long after he became Viceroy of Bengal, dying in A. D. 1662. His first step after the final disappearing of Shuja was to invade Assam. This country had been almost absolutely unaffected by the Muhammedan invasions of India. Situated in the far East on the banks

* Bernier, p. 70.

of a great river, with impenetrable forests, wooded hills and an abnormal rainfall and there being almost no means of communication, its people had worked out a distinct national existence in which an adapted form of Hinduism found its place; but which was in other respects almost entirely local. The burial practices as reported by Khafi Khan remind one of the customs of the Scythians of old (and indeed of many other of the earlier and less advanced races). "When the Raja of that country or a great Zamindar dies, they dig a large tomb or apartment in the earth, and in it they place his wives and concubines, as also his horses and equipage, carpets, vessels of gold and silver, grain, &c., all such things as are used in that country, the jewels worn by wives and nobles, perfumes and fruits, sufficient to last for several days. These they call the provisions of his journey to the next world, and when they are collected the door is closed upon them."*

Our author tells us that these funeral tombs were opened by Khan Khanan's soldiers and that they obtained much booty—similarly to the case of ancient Egypt, such tombs have been from time immemorial the hunting ground of the robber. The story of the invasion is one common to many invasions where the people are weak but nature strong. The defending forces are easily brushed aside, the capital is reached, but there success ends. What the defenders cannot do, nature does. In this case nature's work was efficiently done by the rains. Amir Jumla's force had perforce to go into cantonments and there suffered from the climate with its various diseases and even from want of food. To such an extent did discontent arise that the troops were prepared to leave Amir Jumla to his fate and decamp. Learning this, he made a virtue of necessity and ordered a retreat. The Assamese thereupon attacked the Muhammedan forces, but these were still capable of fighting and consequently the Assamese were defeated. This induced their Raja to agree to a peace whereby he gave up a few frontier towns and paid a considerable tribute to Aurangzeb. He also agreed, so Khafi Khan tells us, "to present fifty elephants and one of his ugly

* Elliot, Vol. VII, pp. 264—65.

daughters to the Emperor." It was on the return march that Amir Jumla died at Khizapur on the frontier of Kuch Behar.

Another great Muhammedan nobleman who, during the fraternal wars, might have become a King maker was Mahabat Khan, the Viceroy or the Prince of Kabul. He seems, however, to have contented himself with protesting against Shah Jahan's captivity and with getting its rigour alleviated. After Mir Jumla's death his son Amin Khan was sent to Kabul in place of Mahabat Khan to rule the Afghans in their Native home, but he found it, as so many others have since found it, anything but an easy matter to do. On one occasion they took him by surprise in the Khaibar Pass, and so badly handled him that he was glad to escape almost alone and leave his troops to their fate. Mahabat Khan lived till well into the seventies and died while about to visit Court. Popular rumour suggested he was poisoned, but there is nothing really to substantiate this. With him went the last of the great nobles of Shah Jahan's reign; Aurangzeb ever desired to reign alone, but there is little doubt that his Empire lost in stability by the loss of experienced Statesmen of the rank of Amir Jumla and Mahabat Khan, who were almost entirely independent in reality but who maintained rigorously Moghul rule in the Marches of the Empire.

The early days of Aurangzeb's reign saw him more than once seriously ill and indeed on one occasion it was not expected that he would recover. In later years his health seems to have been better or at least his fits of illness came less frequently and less severely. In his early reign fear of his father kept him generally not far from Agra, though he spent one summer in Kashmir. Later on he became as great a wanderer as any of his ancestors, but his journeyings were always South towards the Peninsula which he ever hoped to subdue, though never did he reach success.

II.

The Military History of the reign is chiefly concerned with three wars or properly speaking series of wars, wars with the Rajputs, owing to the Emperor's attempt to propagate his religion forcibly amongst them, wars with the Muhammedan Kingdoms of Bijapur and

Golkonda, which ended in their overthrow and finally wars with the Mahrattas, which survived Aurangzeb and continued till the Empire was ground down to the dust. I have already in my first volume described briefly the states of Rajputana and the Rajputs; I have also said something about the Deccan Kingdoms of which Bijapur and Golkonda were at the time of Aurangzeb's accession to the Delhi throne, the sole survivors, but I have hitherto had no need to say anything of the Mahrattas. Up to the middle of the seventeenth century the part they played in the history of India is quite subordinate. But from this period on they gradually take a more and more forward place, till by the middle of the eighteenth century they were the foremost power in India. When they lost that pride of the place it was not by reason of any other Indian race conquering them. Foreign powers, first the Afghans, then the English, alone were capable of performing this. Paniput fought in 1761 A. D. between them and the Afghans dashed to pieces their hope of establishing a Pan-Indian Mahratta Empire, and Assaye in 1803 established as the Pan-Indian power a whitefaced race to take the place which once had been held by the Chagatai Turks of Delhi and which had become for many years vacant.

Maharashtra, the country of the Mahrattas, is situated in Western India south of the Taptee and stretching almost as far south as Goa. Its boundaries are indeterminate, but, broadly speaking, Maharashtra, the native land of the Mahrattas, is situated on the eastern side of the Western Ghats in the n[illegible] western part of the Peninsula, over the western half of its brea[illegible] pr. Between the Ghats and the sea is the Konkan in which the Mahrattas are only one of the various races dwelling there. At the time of which I write in the hills themselves and in the highlands to the east of them, the people of the country, though Muhammedans were to be found scattered here and there, were nearly all Mahrattas. The Ghats are high hills with many an isolated top and consequently afford most excellent situations for forts wherever a water supply can be had. This is not unfrequently obtained from local springs, and where these do not exist, the rainfall from June to September is sufficient to supply a small garrison with quite a sufficient supply.

provided proper foresight as regards the preparation of cisterns and the storage of water be observed. Khafi Khan speaks of Sivaji as residing in a country where all the hills arise to the sky and the jungles are full of trees and bushes. Such a land is eminently fitted to rear a warlike and enduring race, and so the Mahrattas had long before proved themselves to be. They were to be found in great numbers serving as light cavalry (Bargirs) in the Deccan Muhammedan states, particularly in Ahmednuggur and Bijanuggur, and seem to have made excellent skirmishers. It was only in Aurangzeb's time that the race became self-conscious of its powers and stepped forward, not only to obtain its own independence, but to conquer far and wide. That it ever did this was almost entirely the work of one remarkable man, of the National hero Sivaji. Muhammedan historians tell us that he was descended from an Udaipur Rajput who had formed a connection with a woman of inferior caste and consequently had to leave his native home and to emigrate to the Deccan. Whether there be any truth in this story, it is hard to say, probably there is not. Anyhow the first person to rise to importance in his family was his grand-father Mallaji Bhonsla. This man entered into the service of the King of Ahmednuggur before that state was conquered by Akbar and thereby obtained for himself some position and fortune. He is said to have been a devout worshipper of Mahadeo, but, according to Mahratta story, after his wife had not given birth to any children for many years, two were born to him in two successive years owing to the intercession and prayers of a Muhammedan Saint, Shah Sharif. Hence the elder was called—so the story ran—Shahji—ji being the Hindustani honorific. It is also told that one Jadu Rao, a Mahratta nobleman at the Ahmednuggur Court, having on one festive occasion laughingly said to the guests that his little daughter and Shahji would make a fine pair, Shahji being then five years old and the couple playing about at the time, Mallaji turned round to the people there and claimed the girl as Shahji's future wife. Jadu Rao was greatly annoyed at the upstart's presumption, but all the same the couple did eventually marry. Before this Mallaji grew rich—according to the legend by reason of Bhowani, the female

counterpart of the God Mahadeo, having shown to him the whereabouts of a large treasure, more probably, as Duff in his history suggests, by means of robbery in the troubled days at the end of the sixteenth century in the Ahmednuggur state. The Goddess in the story is said to have declared to Mallaji "that there shall be one of thy family who shall become a King; he shall be endowed with the qualities and attributes of Sambh;* he shall re-establish and preserve justice in Maharashtra, and remove all that molest Brahmins, and violate the temple of the gods, his reign shall form an epoch, and his posterity shall mount the throne for twenty-seven generations."†

Shahji rose to fame and to a considerable territorial position in Ahmednuggur after Malik Ambar's death. At one time intriguing with the faineant Kings of the State, at another time with Bijapur, and again with the Imperial authorities, he managed to fish not unsuccessfully in the troubled waters of the time, and finally was employed in the Bijapur service as second in command in an expedition to the Karnatic, where he obtained a large Jaghir and where he remained for the greater part of the remainder of his life. Before going there he had married a second time. By his first wife he had two children, Sambha-ji and Sivaji; the former he took with him: the second was left behind along with his mother between whom and the father disagreements seem to have sprung up, and who for several years before the Karnatic expedition had ceased to live with her husband. And so it was that Sivaji knew hardly anything of his father. He was born in 1627 at the fort of Sheoneri about fifty miles north of Poona. From 1630 to 1636 his mother was living with her father separate from Shahji, and in the last named year she met him at Bijapur, where they both went to attend the marriage of Sivaji who was married according to Hindu custom as a child. After this she returned to her own home and Shahji in the following year started for the Karnatic. By the time he went on this expedition, he had obtained a considerable quantity of landed property and in particular was the Jaghirdar of Poona and Topa.

* A name of Mahadeo.

† Duff, Vol. I, p. 91.

This former place was not the town it now is, but from its excellent natural position at the head of the Ghats it must always have been a place of considerable importance. Here it was that Sivaji and his mother went to reside; and here also lived Dadaji, Shahji's headman, as regards his Maharashtra estates. This Dadaji seems to have been honest and intelligent, and he brought Sivaji up in the most approved Mahratta fashion. He did not indeed have him taught reading and writing, for such teaching would not have been according to Mahratta precedent, but Sivaji was brought up to the use of arms, to a minute knowledge of the ritual of his religion and to an understanding of the duties of his position both as landlord and as petty feudal chief. All such teaching did Sivaji zealously imbibe and in after years he showed himself alike a good warrior, a good administrator (after his own methods) and a good Hindu. He began his career at an age when boys in Western countries are still at school. By attaching to himself a number of Nawahis, the inhabitants of the Ghat Valleys, who did not belong to the higher Mahratta castes, he with their assistance possessed one by one of various hill-forts, none of which were at the time of great importance, but some of which were hereafter fortified so as to throw the greatest obstacles in the way of an attacking force. The first of these forts was *Torna*, which place fell into his possession peacefully in the year 1646. Close to this fort he built another, famed hereafter as Rajgarh. In the next year or two he seized Kondaneh, the name of which he changed into Singhar (the lion fort) and Purandhar. In none of these cases was there any fighting. Bribery and treachery were the means used. In the case of Purandhar, the holders of the fort were three brothers; they quarrelled and called in Sivaji as arbitrator. His method of arbitration was to seize the fort himself. Stories are told of him, as of his father, that he discovered much treasure by the aid of Bhowani. My readers may believe as much of this as they choose.

Dadaji, his guardian, was much troubled by his ward's proceedings; and found himself totally unable to control him. He died, however, before his ward had far advanced in his career. It is told that shortly before his death, when he found that he was unable

to persuade him to live a life of obedience to the Bijapur rulers "he sent for him and advised him to prosecute his plans of independence to protect Brahmins, kine and cultivators; to preserve the temples of the Hindus from violation; and to follow the fortune which lay before him."*

Messengers from his father arrived shortly after his guardian's death. They came to demand the income of the Jaghirs. Sivaji sent them away empty-handed and on fresh emissaries coming, after various evasions, flatly told them that his father would get nothing from his Jaghirs in Maharashtra, he must depend upon his Carnatic properties for his income. At this time he was hardly over twenty years of age. Like Akbar he developed very quick and very early. The Bijapur ruler hardly took any notice of Sivaji at this stage of his career. This Muhammedan ruler was busy building and amusing himself at his capital and had no time to spare in order to bother about a mischievous Jaghirdar, whose deeds were performed in a corner of the kingdom, in a land about which the ruler cared but little. And, in addition to this, Sivaji took care always to have smart agents at Court, who did not hesitate to bribe freely all whose business it was to look into his misdoings. Khafi Khan tells us how at this time Sivaji whom he describes as "for craft and trickery the sharp son of the devil, the father of fraud," seized three pergannahs belonging to an Arab immigrant Mullah Ahmad while this man was away on a visit to Shah Jahan. And this, says Khafi Khan, "was the beginning of that system of violence which he and his descendants have spread over the rest of the Konkan and all the territory of the Deccan. Whenever he heard of a prosperous town or of a district inhabited by thriving cultivators, he plundered it and took possession of it. Before the Jaghirdars in those troublous times could appeal to Bijapur, he had sent in his own account of the matter, with presents and offerings, charging the Jaghirdars or proprietors with some offence which he had felt called upon to punish, and offering to pay some advanced amount for the lands on their being attached to his own jaghir, or to pay their revenues direct to the Government. He communicated these matters to

* Duff, Vol. I, p. 133.

the officials at Bijapur, who in those disturbed times took but little heed of what any one did. So when the Jaghirdar's complaint arrived, he obtained no redress, because no one took any notice of it. The country of the Deccan was never free from commotions and outbreaks, and so the officials, the raiyats, and the soldiery, under the influence of surrounding circumstances, were greedy, stupid and frivolous; thus they applied the axe to their feet with their own hands, and threw their wealth and property to the winds. The greed of the officials increased, especially in those days when the authority of the rulers was interrupted, or their attention diverted. In accordance with the wishes of this disturber, the reins of authority over that country fell into his hands, and he at length became the most notorious of all the rebels."*

Although Sivaji for a long time escaped notice by reason of his exploits being performed far away from the capital and owing to his astuteness and skill in bribery, he could not expect to be so for ever, and when he began to seize seaport towns, the Bijapur Government thought it time to put him down, and the step it took to do so was highly characteristic. Shahji was seized according to instructions by another Mahratta, Baji Ghorpuraik of Mundhaul, also serving in the Carnatic, brought to Court and directed to stop his son's rebellions. His asseverations that Sivaji was rebelling against him as well as against the Bijapur ruler were not believed, and at last, when his attempts to bring in Sivaji availed nothing, he was shut up in a stone dungeon with only a small opening, and was informed that if his son did not submit within a certain time, the opening would be closed and he would be left to die of hunger. Sivaji on learning of this did not, as he was advised to do, submit, but on the other hand entered into Shah Jahan's service and it was at the latter's instance that, we are told, Shahji was set free from the dungeon; all the same he stayed a semi-prisoner in Bijapur for four years. At the end of this time he was allowed to return to the Karnatic which had fallen into a state of great disorder and there his eldest son Sambhaji was shortly afterwards killed. As soon as Shahji was out of the clutches of the Bijapur authorities, Sivaji, who

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 257.

in the meantime had done nothing to compromise his father, began again to give trouble. His first big attempt was against the Jowli State, ruled by a Mahratta, Raja Chunder Rao, a feudatory of the Bijapur power. This Raja was invited by Sivaji to join him in rebelling. On his declining, one of Sivaji's envoys finding him off his guard, assassinated him, the Raja's brother being at the time stabbed to the heart by another envoy. During the confusion that followed Jowli was attacked on all sides by Sivaji's forces and after a brief struggle passed into his hands. It was very shortly after this event that Aurangzeb, then commanding the Imperial forces in the Deccan, marched against Bijapur. Sivaji acted in this campaign as an officer of the Moghuls or rather affected so to act, for he did nothing or next to nothing for anyone save himself, and while Aurangzeb was besieging Bijapur, took advantage of the absence of the Moghul troops to sack Junir and to make an attempt which did not succeed on Ahmednuggur. The civil wars on the North soon called Aurangzeb away; the State of Bijapur was governed by a minor, and internal dissensions were rife; so by the year 1658 Sivaji found that he had a free hand to preserve whatever schemes he might please. His first big attempt, however, was unsuccessful. It was then, and continued to be afterwards, a cardinal part of his policy to seize the Konkan, and particularly the seaports along its coast. The most important of these was Jinjira, which was ruled by a semi-independent ruler, partly of African birth, known as the Sidi; Fateh Khan was the name of the Sidi at the time, and he inflicted in 1659 the first real defeat that Sivaji's forces had experienced since he had become a power in the land, and this defeat was so effectual that it was long before Sivaji was able to trouble seriously Jinjira again.

Bijapur at this time A. D. 1659 had a temporary cessation from internal strife and the rulers accordingly determined it was time to put a check on Sivaji and his incessant raids. For this purpose they chose Afzal Khan, a distinguished and courageous officer, as Khafi Khan calls him, but vain, and contemptuous of a wretched Kafir like Sivaji. He is said to have boasted on leaving the capital that he would bring back the insignificant rebel and cast

him in chains under the footstool of the throne. Afzal Khan seems to have driven back some of Sivaji's troops at first, but the difficulties of the country made an approach to Sivaji's head-quarters at Pertabgarh difficult, and he was led by messengers from the Mahratta Chief to believe that the latter was about to surrender. In this belief Afzal Khan sent a Mahratta Brahmin in his service, Pantoji Gopinath, to Pertabgarh where he met Sivaji and discussed the terms on which the Bijapur Government would treat with him. To Pantoji, Sivaji in darbar gave an evasive answer, professing to be a faithful servant of Bijapur and to being only too desirous to be restored to favour, but in the middle of the night he visited secretly the Brahmin Ambassador and there poured out his real thoughts.

"All he had done," so he said, "was for the sake of Hindus and the Hindu faith; that he was called on by Bhowani herself to protect Brahmins and kine, to punish the violators of their temples and their gods, and to resist the enemies of their religion; that it became him as a Brahmin to assist in what was already declared by the deity; and that here, amongst his caste and countrymen, he should hereafter live in comfort and affluence."*

In addition to this appeal to Pantoji's religious feelings, he also appealed to his avarice, promising him in return for his aid villages in Mau for ever. To this twofold appeal Pantoji yielded, and it was through him that Sivaji managed to get Afzal Khan to meet him at a solitary rendezvous, there to settle the terms of submission which he would obtain from the Bijapur Government. Afzal Khan fell into the trap. To the place appointed he came with one single armed servant and with no arms or armour himself of any sort save the sword which was customarily worn out of doors by a Muhammedan officer. Fifteen hundred troops of his troops were left at Pantoji's suggestion some distance away and he advanced to the place of meeting and to his doom in an open palki. Sivaji, on the other hand, had made all his plans. Before accomplishing them he obtained his mother's blessing and performed his religious duties. Then he armed himself with chain armour and concealed in his right sleeve a dagger and in his fingers a wagnak,

* Duff, Vol. I, pp. 169 to 170.

a small stabbing weapon with four points. All round the place of conference he posted troops with orders to attack as soon as a horn was blown and the Pertabgarh guns announced his safety. Going to the place of conference also with only one armed follower, he assumed an air of humility and submission so that Afzal Khan got entirely off his guard. Then, all of a sudden jumping on Afzal Khan with the fierceness of a tiger, he stuck the wagnak in the latter's bowels, and though the Muhammedan was able to strike a blow with his sword, yet the chain armour prevented any injury, and after a short fight with the follower, who was cut down, Afzal Khan's head was struck off and carried away by some of Sivaji's followers who had by this time arrived. The horn was then blown, the Pertabgarh cannon on its sound were fired and the concealed Mahrattas attacked the royal troops. These without their leader were, as Eastern troops too often are, in such cases, but a disorganised mob. They were utterly routed, many were killed, the whole were scattered and many threw themselves on Sivaji's mercy. This he showed, and so it came about that many Mahrattas up to then in Bijapur service became his best of followers. By this exploit his name amongst his fellow Mahrattas became for ever glorious, the Muhammedan historian, on the other hand, considering it as the basest treachery. Whether they would have done so in case the positions had been reversed is a matter of doubt.

In judging of an action of this kind, in order to come to a fair decision, it is only right to remember the conditions of the time and the average man of the time's opinion in such matters. Treachery—which is simply trickery written large—has loomed large in the history of the world and has in most places and times only met with the faintest reputation. In early Greek History, the heinousness of a breach of faith does not consist in the act itself, but in the violation of the oath which accompanied it. It is the breaking of the promise made and confirmed by a special ritual which brings down the wrath of the gods. So we read in the *Iliad*, how the gods were wrath at the Trojans breaking the truce between them and the Greeks, though they were incited to do this by Athene and Zeus himself. And the idea of the rightness of the keeping of one's word,

irrespective of the imprecation, is one which has only gradually grown and impressed itself on the consciences of men. Scotland's great hero Robert the Bruce slays the red Comyn in the midst of a peaceful chat by the High Altar at Kircudbright. And up to the present day, slimness, smartness, if not praised, is highly resorted to by diplomatists, the class of men who, as it has been wittily said, lie abroad for the sake of their country. And so we must not be too hard on Sivaji. There does not seem to have been any oath which he broke, and so the older idea of the taking of the holy name in vain was not involved in his act. However base it may seem to persons who have been trained to look on deceit as the greatest of vices, to the Mahratta, and I may say to the Indians in general of that age, who considered that all things were fair in war, it was simply an instance of excessive slimness. Treachery of this sort was indeed a constant means used in the India of the seventeenth century and in this art the Mahrattas far surpassed any other class of man. When summing up Sivaji's character later on, I shall have something more to say on this head; at present all that it is necessary to say is that the peculiarity of the act was not the treachery, but the wonderful success which attended it, the whole of the Bijapur force, which in open field could easily have crushed Sivaji, being thereby disorganised and overthrown.

The war with Bijapur continued with varying results during the next three years. At first all the advantage was with Sivaji. An army sent by the King under Rustom Khan was defeated, and Sivaji seized various forts, including Panala Pandangarh and plundered the seaport of Rajapur. In fine, as Khafi Khan says, "Fortune so favoured this treacherous, worthless man, that his forces increased and he grew more powerful every day. He erected new forts, and employed himself in settling his own territories, and in plundering those of Bijapur. He attacked the caravans which came from distant parts and appropriated to himself the goods and the women. But he made it a rule that wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques; the Book of God, or the women of any one. Whenever a copy of the sacred Koran came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it

to some of his Mussalman followers. When the women of any Hindu or Muhammedan were taken prisoners by his men, and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them until their relations came with a suitable ransom to buy their liberty. Whenever he found out that a woman was a slave-girl, he looked upon her as being the property of her master, and appropriated her to himself. He laid down the rule that whenever a place was plundered, the goods of poor people, *pul-siyah* (copper money), and vessels of brass and copper, should belong to the man who found them; but other articles, gold and silver, coined or uncoined, gems, valuable stuffs and jewels, were not to belong to the finder, but were to be given up without the smallest deduction to the officers, and to be by them paid over to Sivaji's government."*

As to this latter point, further notice of it will be taken later when we shall point out in detail how the organisation of plunder was the cardinal feature of Mahratta policy. After a while, however, fortune ceased to smile. Sidi Johur (not to be confounded with any of the Sidis of Jinjira) marched against Sivaji. So did Afzal Khan's son, Fazl Muhammad Khan. The former pinned Sivaji into the fort of Parn Panalla and there besieged him for four months. The Mahratta again had resort to artifice. Meeting Sidi Johur, he pretended to be treating for a surrender: then having lulled the Bijapur general's suspicion, he slipped through the besieged at night and was far on his way to Rangna, his place of refuge, before his escape was discovered. His retreat was covered by some of the bravest of his men; many of whom, including their leader Baji Purviz, gave their lives for their Chief. Again fortune came to his aid. Sidi Johur got suspicious of the Bijapur ruler, revolted and was slain; and the Bijapur main forces instead of being directed towards the Konkan were despatched to the Carnatic. Sivaji took advantage of this to suddenly attack and slay Baji Ghorepurai, who had formerly betrayed his father Shahji to the Bijapur power. This act greatly delighted his father who returned about this time from the Carnatic.

* Elliot, Vol. VII, pp. 260-61.

Sivaji, who was gradually becoming more and more rigid in his performance of the rites prescribed by the Hindu religion, received his father with the greatest of respect, "went several miles to meet him, dismounted from his horse and saluted him with the obeisance due by a servant to his sovereign; insisted on walking by the side of his father's palanquin, and would not sit in his presence until repeatedly commanded."*

Through the mediation of his father peace was made between Sivaji and Bijapur A. D. 1662, the main term being that Sivaji was left in undisturbed possession of the Konkan from Kallian to Goa. This peace was much needed by Sivaji, for already the Moghuls were pressing him hard. As soon as Aurangzeb had been fairly seated on the Imperial throne, his troops were set in motion against Sivaji. Two years before this peace they had besieged and forced to surrender after two months' siege, Chakna, one of the Mahratta northern forts. Already in this campaign they had experience of the warfare which the Mahrattas were to carry on with the Moghul troops for almost the next century. "The daring freebooter Sivaji ordered his followers to attack and plunder the baggage of Amir-ul-Umara's army wherever they met with it. When the Amir was informed of this, he appointed 4,000 horse, under experienced officers, to protect the baggage. But every day, and in every march, Sivaji's Dakhinis swarmed round the baggage, and falling suddenly upon it like Cossacks, they carried off horses, camels, men, and whatever they could secure, until they became aware of the approach of the troops."† As to the troubles and hardships to which the Imperial troops were put during the siege the Muhammedan historian is quite pathetic. "The rains in that country last nearly five months, and fall night and day, so that people cannot put their heads out of their houses. The heavy masses of clouds change day into night, so that lamps are often needed, for without them one man cannot see another of his party. But for all that the muskets were rendered useless, the powder spoilt, and the bows deprived of their strings, the siege was vigorously pressed, and the walls of

* Duff, Vol. I, p. 189.
† Elliot, Vol. 7, p. 261.

the fortress were breached by the fire of the guns. The garrison were hard pressed and troubled, but in dark nights they sallied forth into the trenches and fought with surprising boldness. Sometimes the forces of the freebooter on the outside, combined with those inside in making a simultaneous attack in broad daylight, and placed the trenches in great danger."† However, the siege ended favourably and the Amir-ul-Umara, after capturing this fort and seizing various others, finally took up his head-quarters at Poona. By this time Sivaji had made his peace with Bijapur and so could turn his whole attention to the Moghuls. As usual, he trusted to cunning and not to force. "A regulation had been made that no person, especially no Mahratta, should be allowed to enter the city or the lines of the army without a pass, whether armed or unarmed, excepting persons in the Imperial service. No Mahratta horseman was taken into the service. Sivaji, beaten and dispirited, had retired into mountains difficult of access, and was continually changing his position. One day a party of Mahrattas, who were serving as foot-soldiers, went to the Kotwal, and applied for a pass to admit 200 Mahrattas, who were accompanying a marriage party. A boy dressed up as a bridegroom, and escorted by a party of Mahrattas with drums and music, entered the town early in the evening. On the same day another party was allowed to enter the town on the report that a number of the enemy had been made prisoners at one of the outposts, and that another party was bringing them in pinioned and bare-headed, holding them by ropes and abusing and reviling them as they went along. They proceeded to the place agreed upon, where the whole party met and put on arms. At midnight they went to the cookhouse, which was near the women's apartments. Between the two there was a small window stopped up with mud and bricks. They proceeded by a way well known to them, and got into the kitchen. It was the month of the fast. Some of the cooks were awake, and busy in preparing the vessels for cooking, and others were asleep. The assailants approached noiselessly, and, as far as they were able, they attacked and killed unawares those who were awake; those who were asleep they

† Elliot, Vol. 7, p. 262.

butchered as they lay. So no great alarm was raised. They then quickly set to work about opening the closed windows in the palace. The noise of their pickaxes and the cries of the slaughtered men awoke a servant who was sleeping in a room next to the wall of the cookhouse. He went to the Amir-ul-Umara (Shayista Khan) and informed him of what he had heard. The Amir scolded him, and said that it was only the cooks who had got up to do their work. Some of the maid servants then came, one after another, to say that a hole was being made through the wall. The Amir then jumped up in great alarm, and seized a bow, some arrows, and a spear. Just then some Mahrattas came up in front, and the Amir hit one with an arrow; but he got up to the Amir, and cut off his thumb. Two Mahrattas fell into a reservoir of water, and Amir-ul-Umara brought down another with his spear. In the midst of the confusion two slave girls took Shayista Khan, Amir-ul-Umara, by the hand, and dragged him from the scene of strife to a place of safety. A number of Mahrattas got into the guard-house, and killed every one they found on his pillow, whether sleeping or awake, and said: "This is how they keep watch!" Some men got into the nakarkhana, and in the name of the Amir-ul-Umara ordered the drums to be beaten; so such a din was raised that one man could not hear another speak, and the noise made by the assailants grew higher. They closed the doors. Abu-l-Fath Khan, son of Shayista Khan, a brave young man, rushed forward and killed two or three men, but was himself wounded and killed. A man of importance, who had a house behind the palace of Amir-ul-Umara, hearing the outcry, and finding the doors shut, endeavoured to escape by a rope ladder from a window; but he was old and feeble, and somewhat resembled Shayista Khan. The Mahrattas mistook him for the Amir-ul-Umara, killed him and cut off his head. They also attacked two of the Amir's women. One of them was so cut about that her remains were collected in a basket which served for her coffin. The other recovered, although she had received thirty or forty wounds. The assailants gave no thought to plundering, but made their way out of the house and went off."*

* Elliot, Vol. 7, pp. 269—271.

Raja Jeswant Singh was at the time jointly in command, though nominally subordinate to the Amir-ul-Umara. The two leaders entered into mutual recriminations after Sivaji's daring exploit, a fact which did not make for mutual action. Aurangzeb determined to recall them both. Eventually, Jeswant Singh was left in the Deccan, but the Amir-ul-Umara transferred to Bengal. To the Deccan was now sent in chief command Prince Muazzam, the king's son; along with this Raja came Jai Singh, the famous Rajput Chief and Dilir Khan. In the meantime Sivaji had again fallen out with Bijapur and had again begun to ravage this kingdom. Once he embarked in February 1665 on a ship, one of his improvised fleet, on a plundering expedition down the West Coast. "On this voyage Sivaji was detained longer than he expected; a strong gale drove him down the coast, and the north-west winds prevented his return for many days. This delay was one of several circumstances by which his tutelary goddess is said to have shown her displeasure at this expedition; the only naval enterprise on which he, in person, embarked."* The lesson was sufficient for him. The sea was not his element. Before this his father Shahji died A. D. 1664 in the Carnatic, and Sivaji, his eldest living son, performed his funeral ceremonies with great pomp. His younger brother took possession of the Carnatic properties to which, however, Sivaji laid claim.

Sivaji in the year 1664 A. D. attacked, took and sacked Surat, the chief seaport belonging to the Moghuls. The surprise was complete; so was the loot; only the British and Dutch factories resisted him and so escaped plunder. About this time also his fleet seized several ships, carrying pilgrims to Mecca, a proceeding specially fitted to raise Aurangzeb's ire.

Jai Singh, unlike Jeswant Sing, meant business. With his coming to the Deccan there was no more of the make-believe which marked so much of the Deccan Moghul General's proceedings. His army was supposed to be intended for the purpose of attacking Bijapur, but it attacked continuously the Mahratta. Purandhar

* Duff, Vol. I. p. 202.

was first of all besieged and for a time it maintained a short resistance, during which its commandant was shot by Dilir Khan with an arrow.. All round the country was harried.* "At Sivapur, which was built by Sivaji, and at the forts of Kandana and Kanwarigarh, not one trace of cultivation was left, and cattle out of number were taken. But, on the other hand, the sudden attacks by the enemy, their brilliant successes, their assaults in dark nights, their seizure of the roads and difficult passes, and the firing of the jungles full of trees, severally tried the Imperial forces, and men and beasts in great numbers perished." All the same the pressure continued until Purandhur surrendered. Sivaji's head-quarters, where his wife and many of his relations were, was besieged, and it seemed that at last he was fairly caught. So he thought, too, for after receiving the promise of a safe conduct from Jai Singh—he would hardly have trusted a Muhammedan after his treatment of Afzal Khan—he surrendered to him. Jai Singh was suspicious of Sivaji, and no wonder, and so at the place of meeting was sufficiently guarded to prevent treachery. Before meeting Sivaji, Jai Singh had let the former know the conditions on which he would treat, which were that Sivaji should give up his forts and proceed to wait upon the Emperor. While with the Emperor, Jai Singh assured him that he would be security for his safety and freedom. At the meeting the Raja embraced Sivaji and treated him with the courtesy that ever distinguishes a Rajput Chief. Sivaji himself clasped Jai Singh's hands and said: "I have come as a guilty slave to ask forgiveness, and it is for you either to pardon or to kill me at your pleasure. I will make over my great forts, with the country of the Konkan, to the Emperor's officers, and I will send my son to enter the Imperial service. As for myself, I hope that after the interval of one year, when I have paid my respects to the Emperor, I may be allowed, like other servants of the State who exercise authority in their own provinces, to live with my wife and family in a small fort or two. Whenever and wherever my services are required, I will, on receiving orders, discharge my duty loyally."† Finally

* Elliot, Vol. 7, pp. 272-73.
† Elliot, Vol. 7, p. 274.

it was agreed that Sivaji should retain twelve out of the thirty-five forts which he held and that he with his son Sambhaji, then eight years old, should proceed to Court. The father's attendance at the Court was to be temporary but his son's was to be permanent. He was to be enrolled as one of the nobles waiting on the Emperor. And so in A. D. 1666 we find Sivaji and his son with a small escort arrived at Delhi, there to pay their respects to the Emperor in person. When he reached there, Shah Jahan was dead, and Aurangzeb had ceased to fear any rivals. He had not yet completed his plans against Hinduism and many Rajput nobles were still amongst the most assiduous of his courtiers. Arriving near Delhi, instead of being met by persons of the highest rank and office, Sivaji was received only by Kunwar Ram Sing, the son of Jai Sing, and Mukhliz Khan, one of the lesser Moghul nobles. Aurangzeb had him enrolled as a Panjhazari, but as his son Sambhaji was also given this rank and as Nathuji, another Mahratta chief, also received the same, Sivaji considered himself insulted and did not hesitate to say so. Nor was his anger lessened by what happened when he was presented to Aurangzeb in Durbar. The Emperor who considered the Mahrattas an insignificant clan of mountain robbers, and to whom a Hindu of importance meant solely a Rajput, hardly noticed him on his presentation and allowed him to stay amongst the Panjhazaris—quite a considerable and not an over-distinguished body. Sivaji loudly expressed his dissatisfaction to Kunwar Ram Sing and others about the Court. Jai Singh had guaranteed him his personal liberty and this does not seem to have been interfered with, but all the same he was prohibited from coming to Court and a surveillance more or less severe was put on his movements. This did not suit Sivaji at all; any idea he may have had of being considered by Aurangzeb as the indispensable man for the Deccan left him, and the one idea that obsessed him was a return to Mahratta land. To effect this he had resort to stratagem. For a time he pretended to be ill and kept almost entirely to his bed. Then pretending to recover he had large baskets made in which he sent presents of food to various persons in authority as a thanksgiving offering on his recovery. This custom is so common in India that it occasioned

no remark. Then having got one of his companions to lie in his bed with his ring on his hand, so that if any prying eyes might peer into his sleeping room they might be satisfied that he was there, he and his son got into two of these baskets and were carried some distance out of Delhi to a spot where their companions awaited them. Swift horses were in readiness and long before the Emperor heard of their escape, they reached Muttra. There Sivaji transformed himself into a *fakir* and travelled as such, first of all to Benares, where he visited the holy places. At length some months after his escape he got back to the Mountains of his native land. Sambhaji had to be left behind at Allahabad in charge of a Brahmin. This man proved faithful to his trust and in course of time conducted Sambhaji to his father. Thus did Aurangzeb lose the best chance he ever had of quieting the Deccan. There is but little doubt that Sivaji was afraid of the Imperial troops, and that if Aurangzeb had only recognized him as what he really was, the most important man of the Deccan, he would have been content with his position. Joined with an Imperial Prince he would have had but little difficulty in conquering both the States of Bijapur and Golkonda—a conquest which Aurangzeb only effected nearly twenty years later and the whole Deccan would have become, for the time at least, really a part of the Moghul Empire. As it turned out, it was never so, for from this time Sivaji ceased to have any confidence in the Moghuls and Maharashtra became a practically independent kingdom; and so it was that when Bijapur and Golkonda were at last conquered, the Deccan was as far from being conquered as ever and remained up to the end of the reign and indeed to the end of the Moghul days of rule an endless sink of Moghul enterprise and Moghul valour.

Jai Singh in the meantime had been doing his best to subdue the Bijapur kingdom. He got as far as the capital which he beleaguered in due form. But here his success ended. The Bijapur Generals entered Moghul territory and began laying it waste. "Others were sent to oppose the Raja and attack his baggage. The embankments of the tanks were cut, poisonous matters and carrion were thrown into the wells, the trees and lofty buildings near the fortress were destroyed, spikes were fixed in the ground,

and the gardens and houses on both sides of the city were so destroyed that not a trace of culture was left near the city. Khwaja Neknam, a eunuch, joined Sharza Khan, the commander of Adil Khan's army, with a reinforcement of 6,000 horse and 25,000 infantry, from Kutb-ul-Mulk. Every day there was severe fighting, and the men and animals which went out from the Imperial Army to forage were cut off."*

The effects of this laying waste of the country were that soon scarcity, approximating to famine, began to make itself felt in the Moghul camp. Jai Singh was forced to retreat. His colleague Dilir Khan was recalled; soon afterwards he himself was also summoned to Court but died on his way. Prince Muazzam, who had for the time being been relieved of the government of the Deccan, was again appointed Viceroy and Raja Jeswant Singh was made his chief assistant. The change was all in favour of Sivaji, who had by this time again begun to make himself felt. At first he professed that he was acting on behalf of the King of Golkonda, who had been unwise enough to aid him with guns and material, but very soon he showed that he was entirely playing for his own hand. Jeswant Singh was supposed, probably correctly, of more or less conniving at Sivaji's doings, in this being absolutely unlike Jai Sing, who during the whole of his Deccan career showed that he was in earnest in his undertakings on behalf of his Master.

Prince Muazzam entered into negotiations with Sivaji and obtained from the Government the title of Raja for him, and also the confirmation of a Mansab as well as the grant of a Jaghir in Berar for his son Sambhaji. The Mahratta historians suggest that all this was done with the intention of entrapping Sivaji, but if so, in vain was the net spread. Once bitten, Sivaji was too shy again to entrust himself into Moghul hands. Even the force of the Deccan Moghul army being in revolt, failed to induce him to join them. Aurangzeb had lost his chance forever on that eventful Durbar day at Delhi. Even up to this time it seems that the Emperor was more interested in laying traps to find out who of his army chiefs

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 277.

were unfaithful than in the catching of Sivaji. And of this the latter took full advantage. He fortified afresh his old chief fort Rajgarh and set to building on a more inaccessible hill—a still stronger fort. The old name of this hill was Rahiri. The fort on it is now known as Raigarh; near it passes the high road to Surat. Though at a considerable distance from the sea an inlet passed within a few miles of its base.

"After the guns were mounted, and the place made safe, he closed all the roads around, leaving only one leading to his fortress. One day he called an assembly, and having placed a bag of gold and a gold bracelet worth a hundred *pagodas* before the people, he ordered proclamation to be made that this would be given to any one who would ascend to the fort, and plant a flag, by any other than the appointed road, without the aid of ladder or rope. A Dher came forward, and said that, with the permission of the Raja, he would mount to the top of the hill, plant the flag, and return. He ascended the hill, fixed the flag, quickly came down again, and made his obeisance."*

A purse and gold bracelet was given to the adventurous Dher and the path he had ascended was broken up so that no one in future might clamber up that way. After this Sivaji again in A. D. 1671 plundered Surat. The English and Dutch defended their factories manfully, and escaped without loss, but the town was plundered and the loot included the property of a prince from Mawar-un-Nahr on his way back from Mecca. Aurangzeb was again touched in his most vulnerable point. He was not slow to show his anger by removing Jeswant Sing and appointing Mahabat Khan in his place. This chief was, however, of little use and was soon recalled and with him went Prince Muazzam. The successor to the Deccan command was Khan Jahan Bahadur, formerly Governor of Gujarat, who became Viceroy of the Deccan in 1672 A. D. About the same time Sivaji nearly obtained possession of Jinjira. Fatteh Khan, its ruler, being hard pressed by the Mahratta and not being helped by the Bijapur authorities, had made up his mind to yield when a

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 288.

rebellion headed by three Sidis nipped the plan in the bud. The Sidis agreed to hold Jinjira as a Moghul possession and were granted titles as Imperial Nobles. About this time A. D. 1672 the King of Bijapur died, leaving as his successor in that troubled and distracted kingdom an only son, Sultan Sikander, who was at that time but five years of age. The natural consequences followed—rival noblemen striving for supremacy, intrigue and anarchy everywhere rampant. The end of the Kingdom was coming in sight.

While these events were going on in the Deccan, Aurangzeb's policy was fast developing itself in the north. In the early part of A. D. 1669 he directed the suppression of the Hindu theological schools at Benares and in April of that year the Temple of Bishnath was destroyed in that town. On the site where it stood was built a mosque known as the Mosque of Aurangzeb and so it has come about that the best site along the river frontage at Benares is covered, not with a Hindu pile, as would be in accord with the spirit of the Hindu holy city, but with a place of worship of a faith absolutely alien from Hinduism. In December of the same year was destroyed the great Hindu temple at Muttra. This had been erected, we are told, by the Bundela Raja who had murdered Abul Fazl, and who had, as a reward for this service, obtained from Jehangir on his accession permission to erect this building. The author of the Maasir-i-Alamgiri piously ejaculates: "Glory be to God, who has given us the faith of Islam, that, in this reign of the destroyer of false gods, an undertaking so difficult of accomplishment has been brought to a successful termination. This vigorous support given to the true faith was a severe blow to the arrogance of the Rajas, and, like idols, they turned their faces awe-struck to the wall."*

Hindus have in the past been long, very long, suffering; but though this is the case, still their tenacity is equal to their power of uncomplainingly bearing sufferings for what they consider the holiest, and the destroyer of temples at Muttra and Benares was destroying at the same time the very foundations of Mussalman rule.

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 184.

The next step of Aurangzeb in his march towards Muhammedan ascendancy was the exemption of goods belonging to Mussalmans from customs or transit duties. This, however, was found to be impracticable; then schemes of differentiation were adopted by which goods belonging to Muhammedans were to pay only half the rates paid for goods owned by Hindus. This also naturally led to evasions and subterfuges and the only result was absolute confusion. About this time, *i.e.*, the early seventies—caused partly at least by Aurangzeb's proselytising tendencies—there occurred a most extraordinary outbreak of a sect of Hindu devotees known as Satnamis. These people, though devotees, carried on trade and agriculture on a small scale and prided themselves alike on the correctness of their life and on their mutually assisting each other in trouble. From small beginnings their rebellion took formidable proportions. They captured the town of Narnal in the Punjab, and proceeded there to establish a Government of their own. Troops sent against them by Aurangzeb were defeated and dispersed.* "It was said that swords, arrows, and musket balls had no effect upon these men, and that every arrow and ball which they discharged against the royal army brought down two or three men. Thus they were credited with magic and witchcraft and stories were currently reported about them which were utterly incredible. They were said to have magic wooden horses like live ones, on which their women rode as an advanced guard." The rebels advanced close to Delhi. Aurangzeb's troops seem to have been fairly frightened by them. Aurangzeb, partly probably through superstitious motives and partly because he believed that it would inspire confidence in his troops, wrote prayers with his own hands which he directed to be sewn on to the banners of his army. At last the rebellion was stamped out. Much blood was shed and the Satnamis disappear from history. All this led up to the great event of Aurangzeb's reign, which finally and completely alienated all Hindus from him, the reimposition of the Jizya. This is a poll tax levied on non-Muhammedans. It was in the early days of Islam a cardinal feature of Muhammedan

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 295.

administration. Non-believers paid the Jizya; believers were exempt. On the other hand, the wars of Islam had to be carried on by the followers of the Prophet who were bound, if so called upon, to serve as soldiers. But times had changed since the days of Omar, and a tax perfectly justifiable in his days, became unsupportable at a time when Rajput soldiers formed a great part, and possibly the best part of the Moghul Army. All sections of the Hindu community joined in the uproar that followed. Sivaji, whose own methods of taxation hardly bear close investigation, was as loud in the outcry as any one. Khafi Khan writes as to the reception of it at Delhi thus:* "Upon the publication of this order, the Hindus all round Delhi assembled in vast numbers under the jharokha of the Emperor on the river front of the palace, to represent their inability to pay, and to pray for the recall of the edict. But the Emperor would not listen to their complaints. One day, when he went to public prayer in the great mosque on the Sabbath, a vast multitude of Hindus thronged the road from the palace to the mosque, with the object of seeking relief. Money changers and drapers, all kinds of shop-keepers from the Urdu *bazar*, mechanics, and workmen of all kinds, left off work and business, and pressed into the way. Notwithstanding orders were given to force a way through, it was impossible for the Emperor to reach the mosque. Every moment the crowd increased, and the Emperor's equipage was brought to a standstill. At length an order was given to bring out the elephants and direct them against the mob. Many fell trodden to death under the feet of the elephants and horses. For some days the Hindus continued to assemble in great numbers and complain, but at length they submitted to pay the *Jizya*." The trouble thus caused was intensified by the death of Raja Jeswant Singh, which happened shortly afterwards at Cabul of which place he was Viceroy. His death was supposed to have been brought about by poison administered at Aurangzeb's instigation. In any case it was the cause of much sorrow to the whole of the Hindu community.† "The Hindu race

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 296.
† Tod, Vol. II, p. 50.

was in despair at the loss of the support of their faith. The bells of the temple were mute, the sacred shell no longer sounded at sunrise: the Brahmins vitiated their doctrines and learned the Moslem creed."

The exact date of the Edict imposing the Jizya is not very clear but it was before Sivaji's death, which happened in the year 1680 A. D. Probably it was in the year 1679 A. D. though it may have been a year earlier. In any case in order to keep to anything like chronological order it is necessary to return to Sivaji and his turbulent Mahrattas. We left him trying in vain to seize Jinjira. About this time he came in contact with a more formidable foe than the Sidis in the person of the Governor of Bombay, which by this time had passed, as the wedding portion of Catherine of Braganza on her marriage with Charles the II, from Portuguese into English hands. In the plunder of Hubli, a commercial town of considerable importance in the Bijapur State by the Mahrattas, the English Factory had shared the common fate. Mr. Gerald Aungier, the real founder of Bombay, was then Governor there and in spite of Sivaji's denials insisted on reparation. The Mahratta had already for various reasons learned to respect English prowess, and so after much evasions and delay, concluded a treaty with the English Governor whereby indemnification was to be given for past losses, the import tax on English goods was fixed at 2½ per cent. *ad valorem*, each power's coin was to pass freely in the territories of both, and wrecks were to be restored. Shortly before this treaty Sivaji was solemnly enthroned as Raja at Rajgarh, and henceforward the Mahrattas claimed that theirs, equally with the Delhi power, was a Kingdom. The ceremony of enthronement was witnessed by Mr. Oxenden, the British Envoy. The rites were tedious and long: what seemed to have impressed Mr. Oxenden most was Sivaji's being weighed against gold which was afterwards distributed amongst Brahmins. What probably pleased the new King most, was his being recognised as belonging to a high sub-class of the Rajputs. The Hindus of the two holy rivers the Indus and the Ganges and those of the Rajput desert think themselves commonly the only real Hindus of noble caste in existence and look down on those that come from South of

the Vindhya. Wealth has its way in India, however, as elsewhere, and a judicious use of it enabled Sivaji, as it has enabled Hindus in other parts, to rise with the Brahmin's blessing in the scale of Hindu society. On his coronation the usual grand titles were given to his chief officers, and as the outward sign of the revolution in Indian affairs that was coming about, the new titles were all Sanscrit and not Persian.

The last six years of Sivaji's life as related by the Historians is one confused melée of fights and stratagems. Every day the Moghul power was pressing Bijapur and every day that power was getting nearer its doom. Sivaji was generally at war with Bijapur and always at war with the Moghuls. Occasionally he allied himself with the former power, but such an alliance did it no good. The one strong point of the Bijapur Kingdom in its last days was the strength of its capital. No besieging power could take the city by storm, unless aided by treachery within, and though there was always a Moghul faction in the capital, it was not sufficiently powerful nor sufficiently Moghul to absolutely betray its country. Otherwise the State was in absolute confusion. Golkonda was in a better way, but even there faction raged strong and it was only a matter of time, when the last assault should come. Sivaji allied himself to this latter power, promising much, and was thereby enabled to proceed in safety to the Carnatic to which place he proceeded with a great army to take possession of his father Shahji's lands, which were mostly held by his half brother Venkaji. In this he succeeded on the whole, though he did not settle his disputes with this brother of his. In this expedition the Hindu ascetic side of his character stood out prominently in the penances he performed at the sacred shrine of Parwattam.

"At last," we are told, "he was worked up into such a state of enthusiasm as to draw his sword for the purpose of sacrificing himself to the Deity, when it is pretended he was saved by the direct interposition of the Goddess Bhowanee, by whose inspiration Sivaji on this occasion, uttered one of his many prophecies: and whilst the Deity, through him, declared the necessity of his yet remaining to perform many great services for the Hindu faith, she announced

the splendid conquests that were to be immediately achieved in the Carnatic."* On his return he heard that Venkaji had attacked the troops he had left behind, whereupon he addressed a long letter to him,† "in which he recapitulated everything that had occurred, represented the extreme indiscretion of a conduct, which had compelled him to take possession of the districts: and now, had obliged his officers to repel aggression by force of arms, that the slaughter of the vile Muhammedans, who had joined in the attack, was not to be regretted: but he ought to reflect on the sacrifice of valuable lives which it had occasioned. Sivaji, in his letter dwells much on the necessity of union, and the propriety of peace: which last he now proposes to grant, on receiving the whole of their father's territorial possessions in the Carnatic, for which he promises, either to allow his brother an equivalent in the Panala districts, or to obtain a grant of territory from his ally Kootub Shah in some other part of the country, equal to three lakhs of pagodas annually." The two brothers shortly afterwards came to an agreement whereby Ginjee and the districts around remained with Venkaji: as did a part of his father's wealth. The rest came into Sivaji's hands and was the foundation of the Mahratta power in Southern India. His position was confirmed by the Bijapur Government as the price of his alliance. Venkaji again kicked and threatened to turn devotee. Sivaji's advice to him was given in a letter which has been preserved. It runs thus: ‡ "Many days have elapsed without my receiving any letter from you: and in consequence, I am not in comfort. Ragoo Punt has now written, that you, having placed melancholy and gloom before yourself, do not take care of your person, or in any way attend to yourself as formerly: nor do you keep up any great days or religious festivals. Your troops are inactive, and you have no mind to employ yourself on State affairs. You have become a Byragee, and think of nothing but to sit in some place accounted holy, and let time wear away. In this manner,

* Duff's Mahrattas, Vol. I, p. 278.
† Do., pp. 284-85.
‡ Duff's Mahrattas, Vol. I, pp. 294-95.

much has been written to me, and such an account of you has given me great concern. I am surprised when I reflect, that you have our father's example before you, how did he encounter and surmount all difficulties, perform great actions, escape all dangers by his spirit and resolution, and acquire a renown which he maintained to the last? All he did, is well known to you. You enjoyed his society, you had every opportunity of profiting by his wisdom and ability. Even I myself, as circumstances enabled me, have protected myself; and you also know, and have seen, how I have established a kingdom. Is it then for you, in the very midst of opportunity, to renounce all worldly affairs, and turn Byragee—to give up your affairs to persons who will devour your estate—to ruin your property, and injure your bodily health? What kind of wisdom is this, and what will it end in? I am to you as your head and protection: from me you have nothing to dread. Give up therefore all this, and do not become a Byragee. Throw off despondency, spend your days properly: attend to fasts, feasts, and customary usages, and attend to your personal comforts. Look to the employment of your people, the discipline of your army, and turn your attention to affairs of moment. Make your men do their duty: apply their services properly in your quarter, and gain fame and renown. What a comfort and happiness it will be to me to hear the praise and fame of my younger brother. Raghunath Pundit is near you, he is no stranger to you, consult him on what is most advisable to be done and he will consider you in the same light as myself. I have placed every confidence in him—do you the same: hold together for your mutual support, and you will acquire celebrity and fame. Above all things be not slothful: do not allow opportunity to slip past without receiving some returns from your army. This is the time for performing great actions. Old age is the season for turning Byragee. Arouse! bestir yourself. Let me see what you can do. Why should I write more, you are wise." No one will gainsay the wisdom of this Sivaji's farewell advice. Shortly after writing it, the Mahratta national hero was dead. The nation, which he made self-conscious, exists as such to this day. The question naturally arises how has this change in its being come

about. The story of Sivaji's life seems but one of raids and plunder, of sudden inroads and rapid flights, mixed with occasional feats of the most dare-devil bravery and alas at times with the grossest treachery. But if he had only been a successful marauder, he could hardly have left the mark on the time that he did. The greatest marauder perhaps in the whole world's history, Atilla the Hun, passed away and save in the way of ruins and devastation left hardly a trace behind. Chenghiz Khan, of whom I have written in the first volume, was much more than a mere robber chief. And so was Sivaji. To judge the man right one must turn first to the methods of governing and conquering which he practised. The time was indeed much in his favour, but the time without the man can do but little. It is necessary then in order to judge him aright to understand the system of rule he introduced. The foundation of this was the organisation of plunder abroad and of severe and just government at home. His soldiers—the best of whom the Mawali infantry were hillmen trained to a hard and abstemious life—were bound to account for all the plunder they might obtain. Every article carried off by them was supposed to be inventoried and Sivaji's intelligence department was so complete that it was comparatively rare that plunder escaped notice. His soldiers had always the right of purchasing any article they might have carried off, but if they attempted to keep anything secretly for themselves they were severely punished. No women were allowed in his camps. Thus a Mahratta army was in striking contrast to a Moghul host; in the latter women, luxury, grandeur abandoned: in the former abstinence, abstemiousness was the universal rule. It was but little wonder that the heavy weighted Moghul found the light Mahratta an elusive and yet an undefeatable foe. As regards the internal government of the lands under his rule, Sivaji's first care was his soldiers. Lands were given to them near the forts where they were quartered for the support of their wives and families. He put his face sternly against the curse of India, the tunkah (as it is called) directing a village to pay certain sums of moneys to an official for his own salary or for any other purpose. Such a system is susceptible of the gravest abuses and Sivaji steadily set

his face against it.* Payments were made in cash or by an order on one of the Revenue Collectors. As far as the revenue came from the land it was derived from a share of the produce—ordinarily two-fifths. The peasant knew what he had to pay and he seems to have been able to pay this without any great oppression. Besides the revenue he derived from his own States, and the plunder which his soldiers brought from abroad, he claimed first of all from certain limited districts in Bijapur, then from some of the Moghul territories, and finally from any non-Mahratta land where his claim had any likelihood of success, certain assignments of revenue known as Chouth (one-fourth) and Sirdeshmookhi (one-tenth). He first obtained a grant of Chouth from Aurangzeb as Viceroy in the Deccan previous to his memorable journey to Delhi. The order was on Bijapur and the Moghul Prince who gave it but little thought what a terrible weapon he was putting into Sivaji's hand. The demand for these assignments could be made a convenient excuse for making war and plundering whenever the claimant of the Chouth chose. For the right to this entailed the right to examine and verify the accounts of the power from whom it was demanded, and as such a right would only be conceded by a power at death's door, there was an unfailing cause of dispute always ready for the Mahratta. Add to this that the question as to what districts had to pay Chouth was always in dispute, and it can be seen to what trouble this claim was sure to lead.

The Muhammedan historian of the reign, though naturally inclined to paint the Mahratta chief in unfavourable colours, comments thus on his character. "Sivaji had always striven to maintain the honour of the people in his territories. He persevered in a course of rebellion, in plundering caravans, and troubling mankind: but he entirely abstained from other disgraceful acts, and was careful to maintain the honour of the women and children of Muhammedans when they fell into his hands. His injunctions upon this point were very strict, and anybody who disobeyed them received punishment."† This coming from the source it does

* Later Mahratta rulers abandoned this rule.

† Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 305.

is really high praise. Hindu authors, particularly Mahrattas, are naturally enthusiastic. His faults were mainly those of the time: his virtues were his own. As the originator of a system which sapped away the strength of the Moghul power, his name must ever stand high amongst the great personalities of the East. At the same time with wiser counsels at Agra and Delhi he would have accomplished but little. If he had lived in Akbar's time, his talents would have been probably utilised by that great King as a warrior and as an administrator, and instead of being the scourge of the Empire he would have been one of its numerous pillars. But to guess what might have been is ever a futile occupation. What was, is the task of history and Sivaji may well be described as the first of the destroyers of the Moghul power. His son Sambhaji succeeded to his kingdom: he turned out to be a profligate without anything to recommend him save a certain amount of reckless bravery, and the Moghul power in the Deccan had consequently a breathing time of which, however, it did not make any use to retrieve its last strength. Of this, more hereafter. We must now turn again to Northern India.

"When Jeswant died beyond the Attock, his wife, the (future) mother of Ajit, determined to burn with her lord, but being in the seventh month of her pregnancy, she was forcibly prevented by Ooda Koompawaut. His other queen and seven patras (concubines) mounted the pyre: and as soon as the tidings reached Jodhpore, the Chundravati queen, taking a turban of her late lord, ascended the pile at Mundore."* After the Rani's delivery of a boy, who was named Ajit Sing, she and the Rajputs who had been the late Raja's body-guard set out from Cabul homeward. They were opposed at the Attock Fort by the guard there, who stated that they had received orders not to let them pass, but brushing away this obstacle, the Rajput troop reached Delhi. Here guards were put over them, and, according to Rajput story, the infant Ajit Sing, the heir to his father's possessions, was smuggled out of Delhi in a sweetmeat seller's basket: this perilous task being effected by a faithful Muhammedan. Blood flowed in torrents in a fight between

* Tod, Vol. II, p. 50.

the Rajputs and the Moghuls in the Delhi streets, but the baby Ajit Sing found a safe retreat in one of the innermost and most inaccessible recesses of the Aravali hills. Aurangzeb steadily refused to acknowledge Ajit Sing as the legitimate child of Jeswant Singh and affected to consider him as spurious. But Rajputs, at least, gave up all suspicion on this score when a number of years later the Rana of Udaipur married him to his daughter. This the Rana would certainly not have done if he had the slightest suspicion as to the child's paternity or legitimacy. Aurangzeb, baffled in this matter, for he had hoped to hold the infant in his custody as a hostage for the fidelity of the Rajputs, now came to the conclusion that the time had arrived for the final subjugation of the Rajput race. From all quarters of his Empire troops were collected together to crush this obstinate and stiff-necked people. Rāj Sing was then the Rana of Mewar, which, as ever, was the centre of the Rajput opposition. The campaign started in its usual fashion. After some unequal fighting in which various bands of Rajputs devoted themselves to death, the plain part of Rajputana was overcome. There Aurangzeb remained, but a large part of his army under his son Prince Akbar and Tuhawar Khan entered through the hills into the valley—the circle as it is called—in which the capital of Mewar stands. "Not a soul interrupted his (Akbar's) progress to the city. Palaces, gardens, lakes and isles, met his eye, but no living thing: all was silence. Akbar encamped. Accustomed to this desertion, from the desire of the people to avoid a licentious soldiery, and lulled into a hardy security, he was surprised by the heir of Mewar. Some were praying, some feasting, some at chess: they came to steal and yet fell asleep, says the annalist, and were dispersed with terrific and unrelenting slaughter."* Retreat was cut off, annihilation seemed the only prospect when the Rana's eldest son Jai Singh, trusting to the promises of the Moghul chiefs to bring about an end to the war, permitted the discomfited soldiers to proceed through the dangerous defiles into a place of safety. At the same time another Moghul Army under Dilir Khan, which had entered the passes

* Tod, Vol. I, p. 325.

with the hope of extricating Akbar, was totally routed. Inspirited by these victories, the Rajputs proceeded to attack Aurangzeb himself, and after a hard fought encounter at Dobari forced him to retreat with the loss of the Imperial standard, numerous elephants and much of the Royal carriage.

At the same time Gujarat and Malwa were harried through and through by Rajput bands. The Kazis were bound and shaved, says the annalist, the Korans thrown into wells. Aurangzeb was forced to call up the army of the Deccan with Prince Muazzam at its head. This army also marched into the hill country but fared but little better than the other Imperial armies had fared before. The Rajputs now thought it time to make a strike for Empire. Not that they thought of placing a Hindu on the throne of Delhi—such thoughts had come into their minds after the first battle of Panipat when Baber was still a stranger in the country and the Afghan rule seemed for ever at an end, but now all that they wished was a tolerant Muhammedan ruler, one who should hold the Rajputs as his most faithful and loyal servants. Their thoughts seemed first to have turned to Prince Muazzam, but his loyalty to his father was not to be seduced. Aurangzeb did indeed suspect him, so much so indeed that at one time he directed his guns to be trained on his son's camp, but finding that, on his inviting Muazzam to visit him alone, the son obeyed at once, his suspicions ceased. It was otherwise with Prince Akbar. The same desire for sovereignty that had animated Aurangzeb twenty-five years ago to snatch the throne from his father now tempted Akbar to desert the Imperial army and put himself at the head of the Rajputs. Tahawur Khan with a small escort entered the Imperial camp with the ostensible object of putting forward Prince Akbar's demands. Whether this was his real object or whether he had made up his mind to assassinate, if possible, Aurangzeb, one cannot say. Anyhow he attempted to enter the royal presence, armed. Khafi Khan tells the story of his end thus:

"The Khan demurred to putting off his arms, so Prince Muhammad Muazzam made a sign to kill the unhappy man. It was now stated to the Emperor that Tahawur Khan had come

under the orders of Prince Muhammad Akbar, to make known his pretensions and demands. On hearing this, Aurangzeb's anger blazed forth and he placed his hand upon his sword, and ordered that the Khan should be allowed to enter with his arms. But one of the attendants in an insulting way, placed his hand upon the Khan's breast to stop him. The Khan struck him a blow on the face and retreated, but his foot caught in a rope, and he fell down. Cries of 'strike! slay!' arose on all sides. Numbers fell upon him, and he was soon killed, and his head was cut off. After he was dead, it was found that he had armour under his clothes, but there were various opinions as to what his real intentions were."*

Prince Akbar was not fated to be as successful as his father had been before him. From all we know of him, it would seem that he had neither his father's craft nor his cleverness. Aurangzeb played successfully the old trick. A letter was written in which Prince Akbar was recommended for having befooled the Rajputs so successfully by his pretended rebellion and giving instructions as to how and when he should fall on and attack his friends. This latter fell, as it was meant to fall, into Rajput hands. From this moment all confidence was gone; the Rajput host, which had followed Akbar, melted away. Without a battle, the greatest danger to which Aurangzeb had been exposed since that fateful day before Agra, when Dara Shikoh descended too soon from his elephant and thereby changed the history of the East, passed away. Prince Akbar found himself left almost alone with Durga Das the lord of Drunara, who true to the fealty he had sworn, preserved Prince Akbar from all the dangers to which he was exposed and safely conveyed him to the camp of Sambhaji in Mahratta. The haughty Moghul Prince and the savage Mahratta chieftain had absolutely nothing in common, and after a short stay with the Mahratta, Prince Akbar left him and embarked in an English ship for Muscat.

From there he proceeded to Persia where he lived for many years, dying only shortly before his father. The war between Rajput and Moghul lingered for some time, but without any positive

* Elliot, Vol. VII, pp. 303-4.

result. Aurangzeb did not feel inclined again to attempt what no Sovereign of India had ever accomplished before him, a complete conquest of Rajput country. A treaty was made in which the Moghul restored Chitor and the lands around it which his armies had occupied; and it was laid down that the practice of turning Hindu temples into Muhammedan mosques should be discontinued, but that what had been could not be altered, the past, as the treaty says, not being able to be recalled. As regards the Jiziya the treaty is silent, but as a matter of fact its collection in Rajputana ceased. Once and again there was war after this in parts of Rajputana during Aurangzeb's reign, but it was never on a great scale.

From now for the rest of his reign, Aurangzeb's thoughts were ever turned to the Deccan, and the history of the last twenty-five years of his rule is almost exclusively concerned with lands South of the Vindhiya.

At this time, 1681 A. D., the two Kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, the only remains of the old Bahmini state, were still in existence, though in the last stage of decay. On the other hand, though Sivaji was dead and though Sambhaji had no statesmanlike qualities, the Mahrattas suffered but little from the want of unity or of centralised leading. Sivaji had taught them their strength and the strength of their country. Time and the feebleness of their opponents were to do the rest. The Emperor seems to have been induced to proceed south largely by the fact that his son Akbar was there, for though we have told how eventually the latter left India, still this was not till A. D. 1682, considerably later than the conclusion of the great Rajput war. Aurangzeb's chief officer in the Deccan, Khan Jahan, was both a feeble and corrupt officer. Sambhaji had celebrated his accession in real Mahratta fashion by a sudden inroad into Moghul territory, aiming at the provincial capital, Burhanpur. This he did not manage to capture, but he plundered its suburbs and got away safe with an enormous amount of loot. Khan Jahan marched from Aurangabad in order to cut off his retreat, but he moved leisurely, and when he did get an opportunity of coming to close quarters, deliberately refused it. No wonder that Aurangzeb waxed wrath and deprived him of his

honours. A Moghul Emperor had become in these days, the days of Akbar having long gone by, too wedded to Oriental ceremony, ever to move in a hurry, and though Aurangzeb was very abstemious and simple in his personal habits, still as regards appearing in public in royal state he was as particular as his father. And so it was that the year A. D. 1682 had commenced before he reached Burhanpur. From this time onward the rest of his life practically was spent camping. The Moghul camp indeed resembled a considerable town. The tents of the Emperor, of his seraglio, of his chief nobles and their seraglios, and of the countless hangers on of the Court took up as much room as a fair sized town, but it was a town, never certain as to when it was to move, and hence on a bigger and grander scale it was the old life of the steppes again. When Aurangzeb reached Burhanpur, Prince Akbar was still with Sambhaji, but fear on his score had almost entirely gone. More troublesome were the Jiziya troubles. Officers in the Deccan had been slack, if they had tried at all, to collect the same. But with the Emperor's coming, this was all changed. The Jiziya had to be enforced happen what might. And so even in the towns there were disturbances.

As regards the external foe the first incursion by the Emperor's troops into Mahratta land was unfortunate. The strong fort of Salir in the Konkan near the sea was its objective. The Muhammedan historian tells us how the staple grains of the country were poor diet for the invading force, how the horses and camels died so that Prince Azam, the head of the expedition himself had to walk, how life at last became insupportable and how the troops had to retreat. Force after force went against this fortress in vain, but what force could not effect negotiation did. By the end of the year Salir had surrendered. The story of the siege of this fort was repeated in the siege of the Ramdarra forts. Here again there was not much difficulty until the forts were reached. Then troubles began. "The air of the place did not suit the invaders. The enemy swarmed around on every side, and cut the supplies. On one side was the sea, and on the other two sides were mountains full of poisonous trees and serpents. The enemy cut

down the grass, which was a cause of great distress to man and beast, and they had no food but cocoanuts, and the grain called *kudun*, which acted like poison upon them. Great numbers of men and horses died. Grain was so scarce and dear that wheat flour sometimes could not be obtained for less than three or four rupees. Those men who escaped death dragged on a half existence, and with crying and groaning felt as if every breath they drew was their last. There was not a noble who had a horse in his stable fit for use. When the wretched state of the royal army became known to Aurangzeb, he sent an order to the officers of the port of Surat, directing them to put as much grain as possible on board of ships, and send it to the Prince's succour by sea. The enemy got intelligence of this, and as the ships had to pass by their newly erected fortresses they stopped them on their way, and took most of them. A few ships escaped the enemy, and reached their destination; but no amir got more than two or three palas of corn. The order at length came for the retreat of the army, and it fell back fighting all the way to Ahmednuggur, where Aurangzeb then was.''*

The story of these marches and sieges has now become monotonous. Still the Moghul armies, containing as they did numerous Turks, Afghans and Rajputs were the best fighting force in India when it was the question of a pitched battle. But organised as they were, campaigns in anything like a difficult country could not be successfully carried on. They ever sighed for the ease of their great standing camps, and their leaders had no inclination for the slow persevering work, which campaigning in such countries demanded. Sambhaji in the meantime was engaged in fighting the English and Portuguese. At one time it seemed quite probable that he might obtain possession either by force or by treaty of Bombay. But his rage eventually turned against the Portuguese. At first these latter obtained some advantages and invaded his country, but not venturing to advance, made a most disastrous retreat, losing all their guns, stores and camp equipment and the victorious Sambhaji was only stopped by the waters that separate the island

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 314.

of Goa from the main land. The war went on for years, the Mahrattas having on the whole considerably the better of it, storming and plundering such Portuguese centres at Bassein and Daman: but still being not strong enough to eject the Portuguese from their strongholds.

At last Aurangzeb was ready for the final advance against Bijapur and Golkonda. He always had grounds of complaint against the Government of both States on account of their helping the Mahrattas or on account of the hundred and one reasons which a strong State can bring forward concerning frontier troubles against a weaker. Aurangzeb, who was nothing if not orthodox, always alleged religious reasons for his wars. The prevailing religion amongst both the Bijapur and Golkonda nobles was the Shiah form of Muhammedanism. And to a rigid Sunni a Shiah is considered but little better than an infidel. Add to this that the sovereign of Golkonda had as his two chief ministers, two Hindus Madana and Akana, and Aurangzeb found complete justification for the wars he was starting against the two remaining Muhammedan Deccan states. Before attacking the King of Golkonda, a message was sent to him demanding the balance of tribute (there was always a balance of tribute in those days), and that two very fine diamonds should be sent in lieu of money. The historian naively says: "Aurangzeb told his envoy confidentially that he did not send him to obtain the two diamonds, which he did not at all want, but rather to ascertain the truth of the evil reports which had reached him."* These evil reports related to the kingdom being ruled by Hindus and the King having given himself over to debauchery. The reply was—and it was probably true—that there were no such diamonds. Thereupon a Moghul army advanced into Golkonda territory, having as its heads, for Aurangzeb always added a General of his own if a Prince of the blood, however able, commanded his troops, Prince Muazzam and Khan Jahan. The advance was only partially successful. Khafi Khan claims indeed that the Imperial troops gained a victory over an enemy superior in numbers, but however this might be, the armies did not

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 315

advance and to the vaunting despatch of the leaders, announcing a great victory, Aurangzeb sent an angry reply. The leaders on the other hand got offended and remained inactive for several months. On the Emperor's insisting on action Khan Jahan and Prince Muazzam sent a messenger into the Golkonda camp offering peace if certain Parganahs on the Eastern Coast were surrendered. The answer given was "That they had taken the Parganahs at the point of the sword and spear, and were ready to fight for them."* Fighting was resumed and the Golkonda troops were driven back towards Golkonda. And then happened what so often has happened in Oriental history. The King's mind was poisoned against his Commander-in-Chief Muhammad Ibrahim. He tried to seize him, but fruitlessly. Off went Muhammad Ibrahim to the Imperialists. On this being known the King incontinently fled into the Golkonda fort. The consequence was what might have been expected. "When this fact became public, the stores of Abul Hussan were plundered, as also was the property of the merchants, worth four or five krors of rupees. The women of the soldiers, and of the inhabitants of the city, were subjected to dishonour, and great disorder and destruction prevailed. Many thousand gentlemen being unable to take horse, and carry off their property, in the greatest distress took the hands of their children and wives, many of whom could not even seize a veil or sheet to cover them, and fled into the fortress. Before Prince Shah Alam got intelligence of what was passing, the ruffians and plunderers of the city began their work of pillage and devastation. Nobles, merchants and poorer men, vied with each other as to who, by strength of arms, and by expenditure of money, should get their families and property into the fortress. Before break of day, the Imperial forces attacked the city, and a frightful scene of plunder and destruction followed, for in every part and road and market there were lacs upon lacs of money, stuffs, carpets, horses and elephants, belonging to Abul Hussan and his nobles. Words cannot express how many women and children of Mussulmans and Hindus were made prisoners, or how many women of high and low degree were dishonoured. Carpets of great value,

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 389.

which were too heavy to carry, were cut to pieces with swords and daggers, and every bit was struggled for. Prince Shah Alam appointed officers (sazawals) to prevent the plunder, and they did their best to restrain it, but in vain.''* The craven King sent a messenger begging humbly for peace A. D. 1686. This was granted but under the most humiliating conditions. The Parganahs before demanded were to be surrendered, a crushing war indemnity was to be paid and the Hindu ministers were to be imprisoned. Above all the King was personally to beg for pardon from Aurangzeb. As regards that one of the terms which referred to the Hindu ministers, this turned out to be unnecessary. Even before the negotiations were closed, they were barbarously murdered, probably at the instigation of certain women of the harem who hoped thereby to curry favour with the conquering Moghuls.

Their heads were cut off and sent to Prince Shah Alam. Before the invasion of Golkonda, Imperial troops under the same Generals had invaded the Kingdom of Bijapur. The rulers of that State had followed their usual tactics. They had allowed the Imperial army to reach the capital without much resistance, but when the army got there, it found itself incapable of capturing the town and was forced after suffering much want to retire. To add to the troubles of the time, the Mahrattas had taken the opportunity it afforded to them, by the absence of a large part of the Moghul troops further south, to sack both Broach and Burhanpur. In A. D. 1686 Sultan Azam again advanced. When he was near the capital, Bijapur troops got between him and his base. This reduced him to great distress and it was with great difficulty he was relieved. Ghazi-ud-din Khan, who was to figure so greatly in the future history of the Deccan under the name of Nizam-ul-Mulk, comes into notice in this relief for the first time. Aurangzeb is said to have thanked him more for his services then done than he had ever thanked any other officer. The troops being reinforced again advanced and were joined on this occasion by a part of the army which had returned from the Golkonda war. Finally Aurangzeb joined it himself. The garrison stood out manfully but the inevitable end at last came.

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 320.

The young ruler was put in strict confinement in which he died three years later, not without a suspicion of having been poisoned by the Emperor.

"Bijapur," so the historian of the Mahrattas tells us, "henceforth ceased to be the capital, and was soon after deserted. The walls, which are of hewn stone and very lofty, are, to this day, entire, and being surmounted by the cupolas and minarets of the public buildings, still present to a spectator from without, the appearance of a flourishing city; but within,—all is solitude, silence, and desolation. The deep moat, the double rampart, and the ruins of splendid palaces in the citadel, attest the former magnificence of the Court. The great mosque is a grand edifice, and the tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah, already mentioned, is remarkable for its elegant and graceful architecture, but the chief feature in the scene is the Mausoleum of Muhammed Adil Shah, the dome of which fills the eye from every point of view, and though in itself entirely devoid of ornaments, its enormous dimensions and austere simplicity invests it with an air of melancholy grandeur, which harmonizes with the wreck and desolation that surround it. In the climate where Bijapur is situated, the progress of decay is extremely rapid, and until lately nothing whatever was done to arrest its effects; but when viewed as mere ruins, the remains of that city, as they at present exist, are exceedingly grand, and, as a vast whole, far exceed anything of the kind in Europe."* Since this was written it has more and more decayed, though Lord Curzon's archæological zeal has been instrumental in restoring in part the ancient buildings—the only remaining evidence of its past glories.

After Bijapur came the turn of Golkonda. Aurangzeb had only approved of the late treaty in order that he might complete his work at Bijapur, and now demand after demand was pressed on the unfortunate Abul Hussan. Khafi Khan gives one of the Emperor's letters to this Prince, a most characteristic production.

"The evil deeds of this wicked man pass beyond the bounds of writing; but by mentioning one out of a hundred, and a little out

* Duff, Vol. I, p. 340.

of much, some conception of them may be formed. First, placing the reins of authority and government in the hands of vile tyrannical infidels; oppressing and afflicting the Saiyids, Shaikhs, and other holy men; openly giving himself up to excessive debauchery and depravity; indulging in drunkenness and wickedness night and day; making no distinction between infidelity and Islam, tyranny and justice, depravity and devotion; waging obstinate war in defence of infidels; want of obedience to the divine commands and prohibitions, especially to that command which forbids assistance to an enemy's country, the disregarding of which had cast a censure upon the Holy Book in the sight both of God and man. Letters full of friendly advice and warning upon these points had been repeatedly written, and had been sent by the hands of discreet men. No attention had been paid to them; moreover, it had lately become known that a lac of pagodas had been sent to the wicked Sambha. That in this insolence and intoxication and worthlessness, no regard had been paid to the infamy of his deeds and no hope shown of deliverance in this world or the next." When the King saw that war was meant, he prepared for the worst and set his capital in as complete a state of defence as he could. The siege lasted for a month. During it Prince Muazzam fell under the suspicions of Aurangzeb who on his appearing in obedience to his orders alone in his presence, ordered him and his effects to be seized.

The reason, which seems to have been the cause of this harsh treatment was, that he had tried to obtain favourable terms from the Emperor for Abul Hussan. Anyhow he was kept in confinement for six years after which he was sent to Cabul, as Viceroy, where he stayed away from his father for the rest of the reign. Aurangzeb himself was present during the whole siege. "Both besiegers and besieged severely suffered from hunger. The scarcity and dearness of grain and fodder (within the city) was extreme, so that many men of wealth were disheartened; who then can describe the position of the poor and needy? Throughout the Dakhin in the early part of this year there was a scarcity of rain when the *jowar* and *bajra* came into ear, so they dried up and perished. These productions of the autumn harvest are the main support of the people of the

Dakhin. Rice is the principal food of the people of Haiderabad, and the cultivation of this has been stopped by war and by scarcity of rain. The Dakhinis and the forces of the Hell-dog Sambha had come to the assistance of Haiderabad, and hovering round the Imperial forces, they cut off the supplies of grain. Pestilence (waba) broke out and carried off many men. Thus great numbers of men were lost.''*

An attempt at escalade failed owing to the barking of a dog. This animal is said to have been compensated by the King's giving him a gold collar and a plated chain. Attempts to carry the town by mining equally failed. On one occasion one of the mines exploded doing more injury to the besiegers than the besieged. On another it was found that the besieged had cleared out the powder and cut the match. But what force could not effect, treachery did. One by one the Golkonda nobles left their King and joined the Imperial troops. One chieftain alone is mentioned, Abdur Razaq Lari, who stuck honourably to the falling cause. At last all was over.

The gates were opened; Abdur Razaq was desperately wounded in a fight in which he was almost solitary, and the King, assuming the dignity which so often distinguishes a high bred Oriental in adversity, accepting the inevitable, surrendered in a most dignified manner to the King's second son Prince Azam. The dethroned ruler was sent to Daulatabad as a prisoner. The Kutb Shahi dynasty was at an end. The Golkonda State under a new name with a new capital Haiderabad, close by the old, has come again to life in Indian history under a new dynasty, but the old Deccan sovereignties had now come to an end for ever. Each new Muhammedan power arising in future in the south was founded by adventurers from the north and not by scions of the old Bahmini dynasty. Abdur Razaq, the Bayard of the campaign, recovered from his wounds. Aurangzeb wished him to enter his service; he on the other hand preferred to go to Mecca. He was not however permitted to go at once, but forced to enter for a time the Moghul service. At last

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 328.

he was permitted, though grudgingly to make the sacred journey. History tells us nothing further of him.

The great Kingdoms had gone; but, especially in the Golkonda State, a hundred minor principalities remained.

These had to be subdued by degrees, and though most of them gave nominal obedience to the Moghul rulers, still such obedience was often nothing but nominal. The south of India never became a province of the Delhi power in the same way as Oudh or the Punjab, not even indeed in the same way as Bengal or Berar. And besides these numerous petty powers, there still remained the Mahrattas. Aurangzeb had considered them as mountain rats, whose power would come to an end whenever he chose, or if not, in any case as soon as he subdued the Muhammedan powers, particularly Bijapur which he considered behind them. Never was a ruler more mistaken.

These mountain rats were destined to reduce the Empire of the lordly Moghuls to a state of absolute anarchy and ruin, and it was only by the entry into India of newer and more virile races that the whole of India did not become Mahratta-ised. The Afghans under Ahmad Shah Abdali in the first instance prevented this and then the fair-skinned English from the West. But at the time of which we write in the eighties of the seventeenth century neither Mahratta nor Moghul had the slightest dream of the future. The former was quite content with independence and occasional loot, the latter thought that his domination was secure and that however troublesome the subjugation of the Mahratta might be, it was but a matter of time. A vivid picture of the actual state of the country south of the Vindhyas at this time is to be found in Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas. The Mankurees (Mahratta leaders), whilst their envoys were in the imperial camp professing "perpetual obedience to Aurangzeb, the king of the world,"* frequently sent their parties to plunder the Moghul districts; and in case of discovery, the Brahmin wukeel, who had secured the patronage of some great man at Court by bribery, was ready to answer for or excuse the irregular conduct of his master's followers. The

* Duff, Vol. I, p. 354.

Moghul Foujdars were instructed to conciliate the Mahratta chiefs on condition of their agreeing to serve with fidelity. The chiefs were negotiating with the Foujdar; their wukeels were intriguing at Court; their own villages were secure; and their followers, under the general name of Mahrattas, were ravaging some other part of the country. The Moghul officers who had Jaghir assignments in the Deccan, soon found that they could raise very little revenue; their corruption was increased by poverty, and the offenders who had, in the first instance, plundered their districts by purchasing the connivance of the Foujdars, bribed the Jaghirdars at Court with a part of the pillage. The hereditary rights, and the family feuds which had been before usually applied as an instrument of Government, now became, in the general confusion of this period, a great cause of increasing disorder. The intricate nature of some of the hereditary claims in dispute, and the ingenuity of the Brahmins, who were always the managers, made every case so plausible that the officers of Government found little difficulty in excusing, or at least palliating many acts of gross injustice, to which they scandalously lent themselves. Thus, the rightful owners had often good reason for complaint; they absented themselves with their troops, joined the plunderers, and when induced or compelled to come in, they boldly justified their behaviour by the injustice they had suffered.

When an hereditary office was forfeited, or became vacant in any way, the Moghul Government selected a candidate on whom it was conferred; but the established premium of the exchequer was upwards of six and a half years' purchase, or precisely 651 per cent. on one year's emoluments, one-fourth of which was made payable at the time of delivering the deeds, and the remainder by instalments; but besides this tax, an infinite number of fees and perquisites were exacted by the clerks, all which lent encouragement to confiscations and new appointments. The Emperor increasing in years was soon overwhelmed in more important cases than the mere details of business; his ministers and their underlings were alike negligent and corrupt, and even after deeds and papers were prepared, years elapsed before the orders they contained were put into execution."

Such a state of affairs could only have one result, and a large part of the remaining pages of this work will be filled with a description of how this result worked itself out.

At first, however, it seemed that owing to the Mahratta's leader's character their independence would soon come to an end. Sambhaji was hopeless. He had as his chief adviser a Brahmin from the north called Kalusha. Like master, like man, both were dissipated to a degree, and many of the Mahratta chiefs were totally alienated by their conduct. Listen for a moment to Khafi Khan on this point. He tells us that "When he was staying along with Abdur Razaq Lari near the fort of Rahiri, which Sivaji built, he heard from the people of the neighbourhood that Sivaji, although an infidel, and a rebel, was a wise man. The country round may be called a specimen of Hell, for it is hilly and stony, and in the hot season water is very scarce, which is a great trouble to the inhabitants. Sivaji had a well dug near his abode. A pavement was laid down round the mouth, and a stone seat was erected. Upon this bench Sivaji would take his seat, and when the women of the traders and poor people came to draw water, he would give their children fruit, and talk to the women as to his mother and sisters. When the raj descended to Sambha, he also used to sit upon this bench; and when the wives and daughters of the raiyats came to draw water, the vile dog would lay one hand upon their pitcher, and another upon their waist, and drag them to the seat. There he would handle them roughly and indecently, and detain them for a while. The poor woman unable to help herself, would dash the pitcher from her head, but she could not escape without gross insult. At length the raiyats of the country settled by his father abandoned it, and fled to the territory of the Feringis, which is not far off."* The Feringis here mentioned would be the Portuguese. It was obvious that a ruler of this sort, in spite of his occasional reckless daring, could not continue long. At first, however, he found as an ally, a power before which the greatest powers in India tremble, the plague. Aurangzeb's first general campaign against him was stopped by this disease. The great standing camp at Bijapur to which place

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 341.

Aurangzeb had to remove his head-quarters, had to be broken up. On the troops being removed from the town and cantooned in the open, the disease abated, a remedy as efficient then as now. Shortly after Sambhaji was captured by a clever coup de main. Mukarab Khan, a Moghul cavalry leader, accompanied by his son Ikhlas Khan and a small mixed force of horse and foot, marched with great celerity from Kolapur to Sangameswar, where Sambhaji and his Brahmin minister were spending their time in debauchery, and took them completely unawares. A short fight ensued; most of Sambhaji's followers managed to get away, but he himself, though he attempted disguise, was seized and made a prisoner. Along with him were captured his son Sahu, a lad of seven, and the obnoxious Kalusha. Their conqueror received due honour for his daring exploit. The chief and the minister were brought before Aurangzeb in Durbar. There the indomitable spirit of the Mahratta and of the Brahmin showed itself. On the pair being brought before the Emperor, the latter made two rukaats as a mark of his gratitude to the Almighty. The Brahmin on seeing this repeated certain Hindee lines of which the following is a translation: "O Raja, at the sight of thee the King Alamgir (Aurangzeb), for all his pomp and dignity cannot keep his seat upon his throne, but has perforce descended from it to do thee honour."*

After their capture it was suggested to Aurangzeb that their lives might be preserved and they might be made instruments whereby the Moghuls could take possession of the Mahratta fortresses, now so numerous, all over the Ghats. But Aurangzeb was not inclined to fall in with such plans, and if he had been so inclined, the language of Sambhaji would have prevented him carrying any such plan out. On being asked whether he would become a Mussalman, Sambhaji replied that he would, provided that Aurangzeb would marry him to his daughter. This was intended to be and was a most unpardonable insult. Both Sambhaji and his minister were put to death in public at Tolapur in August 1689. Sahu, the son, remained as a hostage in Aurangzeb's camp. During the remaining years of the reign, though Raja Ram a young son of Sivaji,

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 340.

was nominally most of the time the nominal head of the Mahrattas, they had really no one person as their guiding spirit. A number of Brahmin ministers, working each for their own hand, superintended all Mahratta affairs. And perhaps it was just as well from a Mahratta point of view that this was so. Their power now being scattered all over the country, it was impossible for the Moghul Generals to effectually put it down. There being no head, all blows delivered ceased to vitally injure the body politic. Crushed in one place, they reappeared in another. The story of the last eighteen years of Aurangzeb's life down to his death in 1707 A. D. is in the main nothing more than a story of futile skirmishes, of long and tiresome sieges, of much country overrun, but of little retained, and of the gradual draining of the Moghul strength.

The various Mahratta Chiefs met together after Sambhaji's capture to settle their mutual action in the future. Among them were prominent Prilhad Niraji, the man of thought, and Santaji Ghorepurai, the man of action. Raja Ram, the younger son of Sivaji, was elected as the Mahratta Chief. It was settled by his advisers that he should not remain at any one place but move about from one Western Ghat fort to another, and that if there was any great fear of his being captured, he should move to Ginjee in the Carnatic, away south, not far from the present Madras, where it was hoped he would be out of the range of the Moghul power. The fortresses were put in a state of repair, provisions were stored therein and Sivaji's rules as to the cutting and stacking of fodder for the horses from the pasture lands under the forts were strictly carried out. The Moghul army lumbering along, now besieged one fort, now another, and after sieges generally prolonged, got possession of several of the most powerful of these, including Raigarh itself. Thereupon Ramchander Punt was chosen by the Mahrattas to take supreme control in Mahratta land, and it was settled that Raja Ram should proceed to Ginjee. To get there across a country swarming with troops of all sorts was no easy matter, and it was only after various adventures that he with several other chief followers disguised as Lingayat Brahmins managed to reach that place in safety. As soon as he got there

he formally sat on the throne and began to issue sanads and grants, conferring lands not only in but outside the limits of Maharashtra country to his adherents, and so started claims which though shadowy at the time, afterwards became of the greatest practical importance to the persons to whom they had been granted or to their descendants. Aurangzeb about this time took to passing further orders in his anti-Hindu crusade. No Hindu without special permission, so the edict ran, should ride on an Arab horse or be carried in a palki. Other orders directing that the Hindi form of spelling words such as Malwa, Bengala with a final *h* should be discontinued and the Arabic form used in its place, show that the old man's desires to proselytise had degenerated into senile dotage. Under a ruler so advanced in years and yet so desirous to do everything himself it was hardly to be expected that the Moghuls would gain much way. A large force of them under Zulfikar Khan indeed, of whom we shall hear more than once again during the next twenty years, sat down leisurely before Ginjee, which place was besieged off and on for the next seven years. As to the army moving through and through Maharashtra, what it gained one year it lost the next; a fort taken with much difficulty would fall without any trouble again into Mahratta hands; and what was worst of all for the Moghuls, the Mahrattas were now beginning to think themselves capable of meeting the Imperial armies in the open field. Aurangzeb in A. D. 1698 established his head-quarters at Brahmapuri on the Beema. Here an enormous cantonment was built and for years this obscure village was the seat of the Moghul Empire. From here expeditions were sent out which but rarely effected anything. Save the very ground the Moghul armies trod upon, no part of the Deccan seemed safe from the Mahratta raiders. These persons now began to demand a third tax from the wretched inhabitants whose countries they overran. They already were demanding Chouth and Sirdeshmukhi. Now they began to take from the inhabitants what they called ghas dana—a levy of money and kind for the purpose of feeding their horses. Everywhere outside the Mahratta chiefs' domain was wrack and ruin. Foremost amongst these Mahratta chieftains was Santaji Ghorepurai

whom I have already mentioned. Khafi Khan writes of him thus: "Santa more especially distinguished himself in ravaging the cultivated districts, and in attacking the royal leaders. Everyone who encountered him was either killed or wounded and made prisoner; or if any one did escape, it was with his mere life, with the loss of his army and baggage. Nothing could be done, for wherever the accursed dog went and threatened an attack, there was no Imperial amir bold enough to resist him, and every loss he inflicted on their forces made the boldest warriors quake. Ismail Khan was accounted one of the bravest and most skilful warriors of the Dakhin, but he was defeated in the first action, his army was plundered, and he himself was wounded and made prisoner. After some months he obtained his release on the payment of a large sum of money. So also Rustam Khan, otherwise called Sharza Khan, the Rustam of the time and as brave as a lion, was defeated by Santaji in the district of Sattara, and after losing his baggage and all that he had with him, was taken prisoner, and had to pay a large sum for his ransom. Ali Mardan Khan otherwise called Husaini Beg Haidarabadi, was defeated and made prisoner with several others. After a detention of some days, they obtained their release paying a ransom of two lacs of rupees.

These evil tidings greatly troubled Aurangzeb. Further, news came that Santa had fought with Jan Nisar Khan and Tahawur Khan, on the borders of the Carnatic, and had inflicted upon them a severe defeat and the loss of their artillery and baggage. Jan Nisar was wounded, and escaped with difficulty. Tahawur Khan was also wounded and lay among the dead, but was restored to life. Many other renowned amirs met with similar defeats. Aurangzeb was greatly distressed, but in public he said that the creature could do nothing for everything was in the hands of God."*

In the meantime the Emperor had drifted into war with both the Portuguese and the English. The former were obnoxious to him for many reasons. The Roman Catholic form of worship, so

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 347.

different from the simple and severe forms enjoined on Muhammedans was displeasing to him; the Portuguese habit of making proselytes from their Muhammedan subjects still more so; and their having taken possession of a considerable part of the old Bijapur Kingdom, and that by no means the least important part, was also highly resented by the aged Emperor. Add to this that their sea power, though very different from what it was a century previous, was still too much for the Moghuls to compete with and we have plenty of occasion for Aurangzeb's dislike. The English, on the other hand, cared no whit for making proselytes and did not aim at any land power. On the other hand, they both sheltered pirates and were, I am afraid, too apt to commit actions which would now be termed piratical themselves. In particular they ruled the Arabian Sea almost absolutely, a matter of special offence to Aurangzeb, as this was for an orthodox Indian Sunni by far the most convenient way to Mecca. Khafi Khan as to this remarks: "The total revenue of Bombay, which is chiefly derived from betel-nuts and cocoanuts, does not reach to two or three lacs of rupees. The profits of the commerce of these misbelievers, according to report, does not exceed twenty lacs of rupees. The balance of the money required for the maintenance of the English settlement is obtained by plundering the ships voyaging to the House of God, of which they take one or two every year. When the ships are proceeding to the ports of Mocha and Jedda laden with the goods of Hindustan they do not interfere with them; but when they return bringing gold and silver and Ibrahimi and rial,* their spies have found out which ship bears the richest burden, and they attack it."† Whether this is literally true or not, there is no doubt that the English adventurers in the Eastern seas in those days paid but little obedience to the laws of nations if they found an opportunity of loot. When they captured the Ganj Sawai, the largest of the Moghul ships proceeding from Surat to Mocha, their cup of iniquity in the Emperor's eyes was full and he ordered their factory and their factors at Surat to be seized. These orders were but imperfectly

* Rial = 1 U. S. Dollar.

† Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 354.

carried out. The Muhammedan historian naively tells us that the Governor of Surat knowing what a loss to the revenue a quarrel with the English would be, made no serious attempt to put the royal orders into execution. The English, on the other hand, acted vigorously, and after a time Aurangzeb forgot his wrath and agreed that things should go on as they did before. The English even then were too good aids to the royal revenue by reason of their trade to be lightly driven away, and they had already made Bombay a fortress impregnable to land attack. With the Portuguese too a peace was patched up, the Emperor's advisers telling him that thereby he would be able to obtain cannon which he might use against the Mahrattas. In the meantime the siege of Ginjee was going aimlessly on. Aurangzeb had given the real command as I have said to Zulfikar Khan, who with his father Asad Khan were now the chief nobles of the Empire, but according to his ordinary policy he had associated with them his son Prince Kambaksh. Santaji fresh from his triumphs in the past burst upon the besiegers, destroyed their forage parties, intercepted their supplies and defeated the troops sent against him. He spread also the news that the old Emperor was dead. The result was striking. Zulfikar Khan and his father, declaring that Prince Kambaksh believed this report and was about to claim the throne, seized him and making a treaty with their Mahratta opponents, raised the siege.

Aurangzeb was greatly displeased. The Prince was set at liberty but not permitted to return to the army. Zulfikar was directed to renew the siege, which he did in the same leisurely way as before. It was not till early in 1698 A. D., that Ginjee was finally taken and that only because Zulfikar Khan had become at last afraid of the Emperor's serious displeasure, if he still protracted operations. This general was all along suspected of taking bribes from his opponents, and certain it was that when Ginjee was taken most of the chief Mahrattas and a great part of the wealth therein had gone. The wives and family of Raja Ram were granted a safe conduct to Maharashtra and were sent there by sea.

Previous to the capture of Ginjee the Moghuls had suffered the worst defeat from the Mahrattas which they had hitherto ex-

perienced. In the Bijapur Carnatic not far from Chitaldrug stands a small fort Dandin. Kasim Khan, the Foujdar of the Bijapur Subah, marched out from his headquarters to put a stop to the endless Mahratta raids in his district, and being surrounded on all sides and without food was forced to take refuge in his little fort, leaving half his troops outside. To his rescue came one Himat Khan. Santaji, who was in command of the Mahrattas, was vigorously attacked by this leader and forced to flee, but the Moghuls when in pursuit were themselves attacked and a musket ball killing Himat Khan, his troops dispersed. The troops at Dandin after suffering great hardships surrendered. Kasim Khan is said to have committed suicide. The other chiefs were put to ransom. The whole of the Moghul stores fell into Mahratta hands.

Their value is calculated by Khafi Khan to have been more than sixty lacs of rupees. This happened in A. D. 1696.*

Santaji did not long survive the capture of Ginjee. He is reported to have been an austere man, very severe in his discipline and his punishments. For a trifling offence it is said he would cast a man under the feet of an elephant. And so the Mahrattas did not love him, and Raja Ram, whose fame he overshadowed, least of all. Thus it happened that he was deserted by his own countrymen and hunted to death by the Moghuls. It was a Mahratta Nagoji Manai Deshmukh of Muswar, whose brother had been caused to be thrown by Santaji under an elephant, who finally tracked him down and slew him, while bathing in a small stream, alone and unarmed. His head was duly sent to Aurangzeb and Nagoji was duly pardoned by Aurangzeb—for he was at the time in rebellion—and restored to his old position.

The camp at Brahmapuri was, after the capture of Ginjee, broken up. The cantonment indeed remained, but the whole of the troops were ordered out on active service to the holy war, as Aurangzeb considered it, and Khafi Khan calls it. The first place of consequence to be besieged was Sattara. The move on it was sudden, and Ram Chunder, the chief Mahratta minister, was suspected

* So Grant Duff. Elliot puts it earlier.

of having treacherously left the place unsupplied with the necessary stores. However it took not only almost the whole of 1699 A. D., but the first part of 1700 A. D. to take it. The first attempt at mining ended disastrously for the besiegers. A portion of the rock was blown up, but instead of falling into the fortress, as was expected, it came on the heads of the besiegers below. The Emperor is said to have been much troubled by this result. When he was informed of it and the despondency of his men, "he mounted his horse, and went to the scene of action as if in search of death. He gave orders that the bodies of the dead should be piled upon each other, and made to serve as shields against the arrows of calamity; then with the ladder of resolution, and the scaling-ropes of boldness, the men should rush to the assault."* Another curious fact is reported by Khafi Khan about this misfortune. "A great number of Hindu infantry soldiers had been killed all at once (in the explosion), and their friends were unable to seek and bring out their bodies. The violence of the shock had entirely disfigured them, and it was not possible to distinguish between Mussalman and Hindu, friend and stranger. The flames of animosity burst forth among all the gunners against the commander of the artillery. So at night they secretly set fire to the defences (marhala), which had been raised at great trouble and expense against the fire from above, in the hope and with the design that the fire might reach the corpses of the slaughtered Hindus. A great conflagration followed, and for the space of a week served as a bright lamp both for besiegers and besieged. A number of Hindus and Mussalmans who were alive in the huts were unable to escape, and were burnt, the living with the dead."† Sattara surrendered on terms in April 1700. A month previous to this Raja Ram died. Tara Bai, his senior wife, as regent to her son, succeeded him as ruler of the Mahrattas. This woman showed remarkable aptitude for rule and was a more formidable opponent than either Sambhaji or Raja Ram had been before her. Things in the Moghul Camp went on from bad to worse. After Sattara another fort, Parli, was besieged and taken, and then

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 366.
† Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 366.

when there was thought of returning, as the rainy season was upon them, it was found how much easier it is to march an army into the hilly Western Ghats than to bring it back. The baggage animals were skin and bone; there were no means of conveying the stores; and to add to the misery, the Kistna River was found in full flood; many were drowned in the passage and when the army did at length get across, it had shrunk into very small dimensions. Aurangzeb still kept up hope; but as for his officers and men, probably their upmost wish was that the old man would die and that their endless wanderings should have an end. But for six years more he still remained alive, ever hoping, ever scheming but never getting any nearer his aim.

The Mahrattas on their side were ever getting bolder, though at the same time the wise methods of Sivaji were being gradually abandoned, and a larger share of the loot, now so abundant, was being approximated by the soldier and less by the State. Many of these Mahrattas were in the Moghul service and these were as great robbers as their enemies. It is said that these Moghul-employed Mahrattas would pray jestingly for a long life for Aurangzeb, knowing that as long as he lived they would not be disturbed in their vocation of plunder. The Emperor actually began to buy the forts from their commanders with the natural result of increasing the wealth of the Mahratta leaders and of causing ever new forts to spring up, the commandants of which were also only too eager to be bought. Peace was suggested, and it was proposed to release Sahu, Sambhaji's son, from his captivity and to allow him to return to his countrymen; but Aurangzeb, though at first willing, finally declined.

As long as he had any life left, he was determined to continue in the old way. The record of these last few years is exceedingly tedious and uninteresting. Siege after siege; what the Moghul won one day, was regained the next by the Mahratta, but everywhere suffering, terrible suffering for the peaceful inhabitants of the country. The last of the great sieges of the reign was that of Wakinkera. This fort was defended for months by Parya Naik, a low caste man, whose chief adherents were low class Muhammedans.

Hired Mahratta troops approaching to raise the siege, the Moghuls declined to meet them in the field. When at last Zulfikar Khan with a large force approached, the besieged found occasion to pass through the blockading lines and to join the Mahrattas. Only the disabled and wounded were found in the fort A. D. 1704. This was the last military act of any importance in the Emperor's reign. An old man of ninety, he was more than once ill for months, before his final fatal illness which took place in 1707 A. D. At Ahmednuggur, at an age far exceeding that ordinarily allotted to mortal man, the last of the really great Moghul Emperors died. His last twenty years had been spent in the Deccan. The political history of Hindustan, India north of the Vindhyas, had during this time been almost a blank. The Jats of Bhartpur had once or twice given trouble; but the Emperor had given up all attempts to worry the Rajputs, and they on their part had ceased to worry him. Matters seemingly went on smoothly, save for occasional outbursts of petty rebellion and of some sort of retaliation. In reality it would seem as if on the whole these were twenty years of rest for the north. It was indeed subject to a constant drain for the Deccan wars, but these did not reach its borders. Within twenty years the Mahrattas will trouble as much in the north as in the south, but for the present there was peace in this northern land.

Shortly before his death Aurangzeb is reported to have written to his sons the following letters: Unlike the speech to his tutor reported by Bernier, these would seem to be really Aurangzeb's own. To his son, Azam Shah, he wrote:—"Health to thee, My heart is near thee. Old age is arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, and for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power, hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the Empire. My valuable time has been

NOTE.—Aurangzeb in A. D. 1668 forbade the writing of the history of his reign. Khafi Khan himself surreptitiously put together his notes from which he framed his history after the Emperor's death, and so it may be that this blank means only the want of a chronicler. But if there had been events of any great importance, one may be certain that there would have been order or no order, some account of them.

passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling (conscience), but His glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting, there is no vestige of departing breath, and all hopes from futurity are lost. The fever has left me, but nothing of me remains but skin and bone. My son (Kaum Buksh), though gone towards Bijapur is still near; and thou, my son, are yet nearer. The worthy of esteem, Shah Alam, is far distant; and my grandson (Azeem Ooshaun), by the orders of God, is arrived near Hindustan. The camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are like myself, full of affliction, restless as the quicksilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not. I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounty of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but when I am gone reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my vessel to the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp yet, regarding appearances, the endeavours of my sons are indispensably incumbent. Give my last prayers to my grandson (Bedar Bukht), whom I cannot see, but the desire affects me. The Begam (his daughter) appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts. The foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell. Farewell. Farewell."*

To Prince Kaum Buksh he wrote:—"My son, nearest to my heart. Though in the height of my power, and by God's permission I gave you advice, and took with you the greatest pains, yet, as it was not the divine will, you did not attend with the ears of compliance. Now I depart a stranger, and lament my own insignificance, what does it profit me? I carry with me the fruits of my sins and imperfections. Surprising Providence, I came here alone, and alone I depart. The leader of this caravan hath deserted me. The fever which troubled me for twelve days, hath left me. Whereever I look I see nothing but the divinity. My fears for the camp and followers are great; but, alas! I know not myself. My back is

* Todd, Vol. I, p. 319.

bent with weakness and my feet have lost the powers of motion. The breath which rose is gone, and left not even hope behind it. I have committed numerous crimes, and know not with what punishments I may be seized. Though the protector of mankind will guard the camp, yet care is incumbent on the faithful and my sons. When I was alive, no care was taken: and now I am gone; the consequence may be guessed. The guardianship of a people is the trust by God committed to my sons. Azam Shah is near. Be cautious that none of the faithful are slain, or their miseries fall upon my head. I resign you, your mother and son, to God, as I myself am going. The agonies of death come upon me fast. Bahadur Shah is still where he was and his son is arrived near Hindostan. Bedar Bukht is in Guzarat. Hyaut-al-Nissa, who has beheld no afflictions of time till now, is full of sorrows. Regard the Begam as without concern. Oodiporee your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but everything has its appointed time."* These letters are full of the deepest pathos. The dread of future punishment, the consciousness of crime, of conscience disobeyed, of opportunity misspent and the hope, the only half hope in the mercy of God. Muhammedanism as professed by Aurangzeb was very much Calvinism without Christ, the strong feeling of a merciful God expressed so often in the Koran disappears, and nothing is left but the awful Judge.

'Quando tremor est futurus
Quando Judex est venturus.'

Hardly ever has the fear of judgment produced such a cry.

The Muhammedan historian writing of his character says:—"Of all the sovereigns of the house of Timur—nay, of all the sovereigns of Delhi—no one—since Sikander Lodi, has ever been apparently so distinguished for devotion, austerity, and justice. In courage, long-suffering and sound judgment, he was unrivalled. But from reverence for the injunctions of the Law he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of a

* Todd, Vol. I, p. 320.

country cannot be maintained. Dissensions had arisen among his nobles through rivalry. So every plan and project that he formed came to little good; and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution, and failed of its object. Although he lived for ninety years, his five senses were not at all impaired, except his hearing, and that to only so slight an extent that it was not perceptible to others. He often passed his nights in vigils and devotion, and he denied himself many pleasures naturally belonging to humanity."*

What does history say of Aurangzeb? Its almost unanimous voice is what Akbar built up, that Aurangzeb undermined, so that its ruin was only a matter of time. And this judgment is just. When Shah Jahan was dethroned, the Empire was still flourishing; compared with other Eastern Kingdoms, most flourishing. India is very fertile, and though the royal state of Shah Jahan could not be kept up without much expense, and though the great satraps imitated him in profuse expenditure, we have no reason to believe that taxation was unduly severe. Where carriage was so expensive and uncertain, most articles produced on the spot, were consumed on the spot. The Indian's wants as a rule are but few, and provided the monsoon rains came with anything like punctuality, the ryots, as far as we can learn, got enough to eat in this seventeenth century and as far as their scanty requirements in the way of clothing were concerned, they were probably as well off then, as far at least, as the simplest sort of clothing was concerned, as they are now. Of anything like comforts, the average rustic Indian at present has none, nor had he any then. In large towns indeed wants are greater. Most of the large towns in those days were provincial capitals and the fragments from the rich officials' tables there would naturally come to the poor. The great want of India then, as indeed now, was peace; and peace during the seventeenth century Northern India had; but as the century grew to its close this peace was affected by the constant demand of men and money for the Deccan. The former demand Hindustan could well spare from its teeming

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 386.

population; but the latter demand drained the country of all its superfluous wealth.

It has often been stated that Aurangzeb's cardinal error was in his overthrowing the Muhammedan States of Bijapur and Golkonda and not letting them remain as a barrier against the Mahrattas, and an error it doubtless was. But as far as his army administration was concerned, Aurangzeb's fundamental error was his neglect of a sufficient supply of efficient soldiers from the North-Western border and beyond. The soldiers from these lands had been in the Moghul palmy days their great standby. It was only with such troops, foreign indeed as the English now are foreign, that a compact army could be brought together, capable of doing the work required from it. Aurangzeb, though a great proselytiser, seems not to have encouraged in any special way foreign Muhammedans; and so his army was full of Indian Muhammedans, of far inferior strength and virility. Early in the reign the great standby of the Empire had been the Rajput auxiliaries; but as the reign proceeded, less and less confidence could be placed in them, until towards the close, the strong bond of fealty which had held them to the Empire had almost snapped. And here we come to Aurangzeb's crowning fault; he had many virtues, temperance, perseverance, where dynastic feelings were not concerned he was often merciful; he had also many vices of which dissimulation and ambition were the chief, but vices, virtues, were all of less importance in influencing his career than the fact that he was a bigot. What Akbar had gained, what Jahangir and Shah Jahan with all their vices had retained, he lost, *viz.*, the affection of his Hindu subjects. That this can be acquired for a Muhammedan ruler without doing injustice to his co-religionists has been shown over and over again in Indian History. And no power that has not acquired the confidence of the Hindu community can be expected to last in India. Intolerance in Aurangzeb's time meant intolerance in religious matters, but intolerance can, and at the present day often does, extend to matters not religious. Impatience at opposition, a belief that no one can be right save oneself, a feeling of contempt for all that does not tally with one's own ideas, all these are a form of intolerance and one that at times can

be seen in statesmen of the present days. But the warning of history stands ever there, so that he who runs may read. The English won India by pursuing the methods of Akbar, let them not lose it by imitating those of Aurangzeb.*

* NOTE—By this I do not mean of course that England's policy should be guided by what the Hindu—especially the more vociferous Hindu asks. Respect for Hindu ideas (prejudices if you will), strict justice without respect of persons, taxation which does not unduly worry—such are much more important items in gaining the confidence of the most of our Hindu fellow-subjects than any political concession.

BAHADUR SHAH.

AURANGZEB left three sons, Shah Alam who afterwards became Emperor under the name of Bahadur Shah, Azam Shah and Kaum Buksh. I have already mentioned that Shah Alam had fallen under his father's suspicion some 20 years earlier and had been for years in captivity and also that on his release he had been sent as Viceroy to Cabul. There he remained till the time of his father's death. While there, he had the good fortune to attach to his cause Munim Khan, the Dewan of the Province of Lahore. Accordingly when the news of his father's death came, he found at his back both the soldiery of the Cabul and Lahore Subahs and not only this, but also through Munim Khan's activity he had to hand a fully equipped commissariat and ample transport. Two of his sons were at the time Viceroys of Multan and Bengal respectively, and so a large part of the country was already under his control. The son at Multan joined his father as soon as he entered Hindustan, and the other son made forced marches from Bengal in order to anticipate any attempts made to cut him off from Upper India.

Azam Shah, the second son, had been in attendance on his father shortly before the latter's death. Aurangzeb, who ever remembered the treatment he dealt out to his own father, would not allow this son of his to remain with him during his last days but directed him to proceed from the Imperial camp and take possession of the Viceroyalty of Malwa. As soon, however, as this son heard that his father had breathed his last, he returned to the Imperial camp, had the Khutba read in his own name and ascended the Imperial throne. Kaum Buksh, the third and favourite son of Aurangzeb, had also been sent away by his father about the same time as his elder brother Azam Shah. According to the wishes of his father, the Kingdom of Bijapur should have been his appanage. It was stated indeed that Aurangzeb before dying,

had expressed his wish that Shah Alam should become the Emperor: that Azam Shah should hold the Deccan save Bijapur and that Bijapur should be the portion of his third son. However this may be, the adage so often quoted in Eastern History again turned out true. No country is big enough for two Kings, and thus it happened that each of the three princes made up their minds or had their minds made up for them that one of them and one alone should become Emperor of Aurangzeb's vast dominion. Shah Alam indeed, it is said, was willing to allow his brothers the shares in the Deccan left them by their father but neither of these younger brothers were willing. The first to encounter were Shah Alam and Azam Shah. There was a race between these two, as to who should reach Agra first: Shah Alam won. The Commander who held the fort there, is said to have informed Azam Shah that he would surrender it to the prince who was the first to arrive, and so it happened that the whole of the treasure which had been accumulated in that stronghold during the time of Shah Jahan, and which had been left hardly touched by Aurangzeb, fell into the new Emperor's hands. Azam Shah, although too late, marched all the same straight towards the Imperial City. He is said to have disgusted his adherents both by his stinginess and by his pride and so many left him on the road. One thing which he did do, deserves to be remembered and that was the releasing of Sivaji (better known by his nick name Sahu (thief) given him by Aurangzeb), Sambhaji's son who for many years had been Aurangzeb's prisoner. The two armies met at Jhaju, about 15 miles from Agra, and although in a preliminary skirmish the troops of Azam Shah obtained the advantage, still on the decisive day the battle seems from the first to have gone against the younger brother. Zulfikar Khan who was commanding on Azam Shah's side, when he saw that the day was lost, that many of his valiant companions in arms were slain, and that Azam Shah's army was pressed so hard that there was no hope of deliverance, went to the Prince and said, 'Your ancestors have had to endure the same kind of reverse, and have been deprived of their armies: but they did not refuse to do what the necessities of the case required. The

best course for you now is to leave the field of battle, and to remove to a distance, when fortune may perhaps assist you, and you may retrieve your reverse.' Azam Shah flew into a rage, and said: 'Go, with your bravery, and save your life wherever you can: it is impossible for me to leave this field: for princes there is (only the choice of) a throne or a bier' (*takht ya takhta*).*

The choice was not long in coming, for as the Muhammedan Historian says 'as the sun of his life was setting an arrow struck him and his existence came to an end.' Shah Alam was exceedingly merciful after his victory. The children of Azam Shah were not put to death, as had become the invariable custom, and Zulfikar Khan was received into the Imperial service. The next year 1708 saw the end of the civil war. The Emperor was willing to allow Kaum Buksh to retain Bijapur and also to add to this the kingdom of Golkonda, but Kaum Buksh who was both proud and cruel would not listen to his brother's conciliatory messages and really forced the Emperor to march against him. The result was never in doubt, although in the battle which ensued Kaum Buksh himself showed the most reckless bravery. He and his sons, who were desperately wounded, were captured and taken to near the royal tent. "European and Greek Surgeons were appointed to attend them. Kaum Buksh rejected all treatment, and refused to take the broth prepared for his food. In the evening the king went to see his brother. He sat down by his side, and took the cloak from his own back, and covered him, who lay dejected and despairing, fallen from throne and fortune. He showed him the greatest kindness, asked him about his state, and said, 'I never wished to see you in this condition.' Kaum Buksh replied, 'Neither did I wish that one of the race of Timur should be made prisoner with the imputation of cowardice and want of spirit.' The king gave him two or three spoonfuls of broth with his own hands, and then departed with his eyes full of tears. Three or four watches afterwards, Kaum Buksh and one of his sons named Firozmand died.† Both corpses were sent to Delhi, to be interred

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p 399.

† A. D. 1708.

near the tomb of Humayun."* Shah Alam now reigned without a rival.

Although of a merciful character and tolerant disposition the new Emperor was but little fitted to sustain the burden of Sovereignty which had been thrust upon him. His generosity was really lavishness. It is said that he could never refuse a request. In any case within a very exceedingly short time the whole of the late Emperor's treasure, which was stored up in the Agra fort with so much care, had almost entirely vanished, and after his reign no more do we learn of great Imperial Reserves. The Muhammedan Historian who certainly desired to give this Emperor as good a character as he could, tells us how, owing to his good nature and his inability to deny requests, the ugly practice arose of giving the same title to two or more persons. This of itself would show that the rule of order in the Moghul dominions was coming to an end.

The Emperor's character is summed up by this Historian in these words: "For generosity, munificence, boundless good nature, extenuation of faults, and forgiveness of offences, very few monarchs have been found equal to Bahadur Shah in the histories of past times, and especially in the race of Timur. But though he had no vice in his character, such complacency and such negligence were exhibited in the protection of the state and in the government and management of the country, that witty sarcastic people found the date of his accession in the words, *Shah-i be-khabr*, 'Heedless King.' He often sat up all night, and used to sleep to the middle of the day; so in marching his people had to suffer great inconvenience; for many poor fellows were unable to find their tents in dark nights when the army and baggage were scattered about, and had to pass the night in front of the royal tent, or the drum room or offices or the bazars."† In other words, he was by no means fitted to rule the Moghul dominions in the troublesome days which had now come.

Zulfikar Khan, his father Asad Khan and Munim Khan who was made Khan Khanan, were the chief Ministers in this reign.

* Elliot, Vol. VII, pp. 407—408.
† Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 410.

Asad Khan himself was made Wazir, but he was by this time an old man and although of great influence did really but little—the mass of the work falling upon the other two. The Khan Khanan was a Sufi and probably it was largely under his influence that the Emperor became, if not a Shiah, still well affected to this form of the Muhammedan faith. This he showed first of all by directing that the word "wasi" (heir) should be inserted in the Kutbah after the name of the Caliph Ali, the son-in-law of the prophet. The Sunnis were up in arms. From all parts of the Empire, from Lahore, Agra and Ahmedabad, came reports of opposition. In the last named place the Khatib, who pronounced the Kutbah with the innovation in it as ordered, was torn from the pulpit, seized by his skirts and so severely stabbed that he died. At Lahore where the Emperor was, the chief Muhammedan Doctors of the place awaited upon the Emperor and stated their objections. After the method of Akbar's days the discussions that followed took up several days. The Emperor finally yielded, more probably on account of the fear of disturbances, than of conviction. The Mussulmans of Lahore were practically of one accord in the matter and the obnoxious word had never, in spite of the Imperial orders, been used in the pulpits. Finally, the Emperor ordered that the Kutbah should be recited as it was in the days of Aurangzeb, *i.e.*, without the wasi. All the same the Emperor showed his displeasure by imprisoning in a fortress the leading Sunni Doctors.*

The Khan Khanan discharged his duties as Wazir with great justice and clemency. One matter he set right. He afforded a relief rightly demanded by the Mansabdars (holders of Mansabs). These men's Mansabs had been charged in the previous reign with the support of the royal and the provincial officers' cattle. This charge, by methods well known in the East, had been turned into an intolerable oppression; very often the whole income of the Mansabdar was not nearly sufficient for the purpose. It can easily be understood how the officer whose duty it was to enforce this service, not only demanded that the cattle should be fed, but

* A. D. 1710.

that they themselves also should be paid. The consequence too often was the torturing of the Mansabdars and of their servants. Complaints had been frequently made to Aurangzeb, but he was too merged in his political schemes to pay much attention. Now the whole system was abolished; a deduction of a money payment was substituted in lieu of the obligation to feed the cattle. Such a change from kind into money had obvious merits but is rarely acceptable to native officials, and very often is not so to the person who has to pay.

A change, for it cannot be called a reform, of a very different nature was also made at the time, by which the Emperor affixed to his name on the coins, the title "Sayid." This word had since the early days of Islam come to mean a descendant of the prophet. None of the previous Emperors had claimed this honour and I am afraid it would have been very hard to substantiate. However, all things are possible with the Masters of Kingdoms.

The Khan Khanan died shortly before his master. He was one of the last really good Ministers that the Moghul Emperors employed, and yet Khafi Khan's description of him is sufficient to show how the Moghul Statesmen had degenerated since the reign of Akbar.

"He was a man inclined to Suffism, and was a friend to the poor. During all the time of his power he gave pain to no one. But the best intentions are often perverted into wrong deeds. It entered the mind of Khan Khanan that he would build in every city a sarai, a mosque, or a monastery, to bear his name. So he wrote to the Subahdars and Diwans of different places about the purchase of ground and the building of sarais, mosques, and colleges. He gave strict injunctions and also sent bills for large sums of money. When his order reached the place, all the officials had regard to the high dignity, and looking upon his order as a mandate from heaven, they directed their attention to the building of the sarais in their respective cities. In some places ground fit for the purpose was freely sold by the owners; but it happened in other places that although the officials were desirous of buying suitable land, they could not obtain it with the consent of the owners. Considering only their own authority, and the necessity

of satisfying Khan Khanan, the officials forcibly seized upon many houses which had been occupied by the owners and their ancestors for generations, and drove the proprietors out of their hereditary property. Numbers of Mussulmans, Sayids and Hindus were thus driven, sighing and cursing, out of their old homes, as it happened at Burhanpur and at Surat.''*

The curse of all Eastern Kingdoms is here shown and the desire to do some meritorious actions without considering the means and ways by which such can be brought about.

As regards Bahadur Shah's dealings with his non-Muhammedan subjects, three matters call for special mention. First of all, the dealings with the Rajputs; secondly, with the Sikhs, and thirdly, the progress of the Mahratta power during his reign. As regards the third, it will be more convenient to deal with it later on when I finish my general history of the period of short reigns commencing with Bahadur Shah and ending with the coming to the throne of Muhammad Shah. As regards the Rajputs, the tyranny of Aurangzeb had completely alienated them from the Empire. We are told that Raja Ajit Singh, as soon as Aurangzeb died, forbade the killing of cows, prevented the Muazzim calling to prayer, desecrated the Mosques which had been built, and began erecting new temples. Accordingly Imperial armies marched through the plain country of Rajputana again and again; but finally chiefly owing to the troubles with the Sikhs, the Emperor contented himself with nominal homage and Rajputana seems from this time to have become practically free from Imperial interference. Never again could its princes be relied upon to support the Empire or the reigning Emperor. The chief Rajas of the country, those of Mewar, Ambar, and Marwar; the modern Udaipur, Jaipur, and Jodhpur joined into a triple league of mutual defence in which amongst other terms was one that they would under no circumstances allow their daughters to marry into the Moghul Imperial family. It was also stipulated that where the Raja of one of the States married the daughter of the Raja of another, the eldest male heir of such marriage should succeed although the Raja might have had an

* Elliot, Vol. VII, pp. 425-426.

elder child by another wife. This Tod justly remarks was the cause of much subsequent trouble and disunion, inasmuch as nowhere in the world have the laws of primogeniture been considered more sacred than by the Rajputs.

The troubles with the Sikhs who in this reign first began to play a prominent part in the history of the Punjab call for a longer notice. Before writing about them, however, it is desirable to give some account of the tenets and the rise of this extraordinary people.

The word Sikh means disciple and the main tenet of the Sikhs, that which distinguishes them most clearly from all other Hindu bodies, is their devotion to their spiritual preceptor, their Guru. The first Guru Nanak was born at Tahwandi near Lahore in 1469 A. D. He fell in early life under the influence of Kabir, a Muhammedan Mystic, who disgusted with the intolerance of his co-religionists, became a worshipper of Vishnu. This Vishnu, however, was the one God of the Universe and not simply one of the many gods of the Hindu Pantheon. The hardness, which characterises the views of God put forward by many Christian and Muhammedan theologians, finds no place in Kabir's teaching nor in that of his pupil Nanak. The burden of the latter's teaching was "that all men are alike in the eyes of the Almighty." He rejected the authority of the Brahmans and the virtue of their incantations and sacrifices, holding that salvation lay in repentance and in pure and righteous conduct, rather than in the pharisaical observance of a number of unintelligible rites. Like most Hindus, he believed in transmigration, but held that the successive stages were but means to purification, and that, at last, the soul, cleansed from its sin, returned to dwell with its Maker. 'He did not despise or attack the Hindu or Muhammedan teachers; he held, indeed, that they too had been sent from God, but he preached a higher and purer religion, embracing all that was best in both. He declared himself a prophet, but claimed neither direct inspiration nor miraculous powers. Nanak prescribed no caste rules or ceremonial observances, and indeed condemned them as unnecessary and even harmful; but he insisted on no alteration in existing

institutions, and was content to leave the doctrine of the equality of all men in the sight of God to work its own conclusion in the minds of his followers. He respected the Hindu veneration of the cow and the Muhammedan abhorrence of the hog, but recommended as a higher rule than either, total abstinence from flesh. In short, he attacked nothing, he condemned nobody; but he sought to draw men's minds from the shadow to the substance, to glorify what was highest and best in the religion of each, and was content to leave to all men, at least for a while, the outward and visible signs to which they were traditionally accustomed. Nothing in fact could have been more gentle or less aggressive than his doctrine."*

Nanak travelled through a great part of Upper India, visited Mecca and died at Kantapur near Jullunder A. D. 1539. He was the first Guru of the Sikhs. His disciples were entirely recruited from the non-Muhammedan Jats of the Punjab. Nine Gurus in apostolic succession succeeded him. The fourth Ram Das founded Amritsar; the fifth Arjun was the first to give the Sikhs a regular organisation. He also compiled or had compiled for him the Adi Granth, the holy book of the Sikhs in the vernacular tongue, and made Amritsar the religious centre of the new body. Under his succession the body became not only a religious but a military organisation. Its aims may nominally have been the relief of oppression, but in reality it was becoming rapidly a body bound together, as far as its non-religious side was concerned, by the hope of plunder. Muhammedans were its chief victims. Hence the Imperial authorities made many ineffectual efforts to put down this new band of robbers. In Aurangzeb's time in particular they were hunted down everywhere, much as the children of the Mist in Scotland were some three centuries ago, and in spite of all persecutions, the Sikh like the Macgregor flourished. Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Guru, was executed at Delhi in Aurangzeb's reign. Three Punjabi sweepers, moved thereto by his last wishes, proceeded to Delhi and carried off the dead body in the face of a Muham-

* Captain A. H. Bingley, Sikhs, p. 13.

medan crowd. Sikhism, like Budhism of old, like Muhammedanism in theory, abolished caste. But in India, in spite of all such abolitions, caste, hydra-like, has sprung up again and again. The mass of Indian Muhammedans are almost as caste ridden as the Hindus. These gallant Mehters were the origin of the Mazhabi Sikhs. Once a Sikh, the sweeper, the lowest of the low in the Hindu community, loses the pollution which hitherto was attached to him, but still he is considered a class apart in the Sikh organisation and the mark of caste still hangs, however lightly, to him.

Tegh Bahadur's successor, Govind Singh, the tenth and last Guru, was one of the most remarkable men of his time. The fraternity was in his time finally organised as the fighting organisation, which many years later became England's most formidable enemy. It is told that before his life work began he desired the blessing of the Hindu goddess Devi. She is said to have appeared to him, after he had completed a course of austerities carried out by him in order to appease her, and informed him that the price of her protection was the sacrifice to her of a living human being, preferably of one of his own sons. These their mothers declined to give, but one of his friends volunteered and so was duly sacrificed at the altar. Bloody thus was his initiation; bloody also was his life work. All without distinction of caste were admitted into the fraternity, provided they underwent the initiatory ceremony (the pahul rite), which, though different in ritual, corresponds in significance with Christian baptism; the solemn Supper, the Pershad, partaken by the initiated, from time to time, in many ways being similar in significance with the Lord's Supper. A new religious book, known as the Daswen Badshah ka Granth, was composed by this Guru or under his orders. The whole of his lifetime was spent in incessant warfare, now and again with the Hindu hill Rajas, generally with the Imperial powers. At times his followers were almost annihilated, but they ever sprang up again. When Aurangzeb died, Govind Singh joined his fortunes to Bahadur Shah's. This led him far away from the Punjab, and while fighting, a novelty for him, on behalf of the Muhammedan power, he was assassinated by an Afghan horse-dealer at Naderh

near the Godavery. This place is known by the Sikhs to this day as Abchalnagar, the town of departure, and has still a considerable Sikh population; a curious instance of a colony in a far distant land.

Govind Singh was succeeded by his chosen disciple, a Bairagi ascetic, Banda, who is said to have been a native of the Deccan, but who on his Master's death promptly returned to the Punjab. It was with him that Shah Alam and his officers had to do and a terrible foe they found him. The Muhammedan historian says that Banda gave out that his master had been reincarnated in his body in order to take revenge on the Muhammedans, one of whom had been his murderer. "This worthless dog, having published this statement, stirred up disaffection in the sect, and raised the standard of rebellion. By jugglery, charms, and sorcery, he pretended to perform miracles before credulous people, and gave himself the name of *Sacha Padshah* "True King."*

His first great exploit was the capture of Sirhind. The Foujdar of that place, Wazir Khan, attacked Banda and his Sikhs but was defeated and slain. Sirhind then fell into their hands. The Muhammedan historian writes: "Sirhind was an opulent town, with wealthy merchants, bankers, and tradesmen, men of money, and gentlemen of every class; and there were especially learned and religious men in great numbers residing there. No one found the opportunity of saving his life, or wealth, or family. When they heard of the death of Wazir Khan, and the rout of his army, they were seized with panic. They were shut up in the town, and for one or two days made some ineffectual resistance, but were obliged to bow to fate. The evil dogs fell to plundering, murdering and making prisoners of the children and families of high and low, and carried on their atrocities for three or four days with such violence that they tore open the wombs of pregnant women, dashed every living child upon the ground, set fire to the houses, and involved rich and poor in one common ruin. Wherever they found a mosque, a tomb, or a grave stone of a respected Mussulman,

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 413.

they broke it to pieces, dug it up, and made no sin of scattering the bones of the dead."* This story takes us back to Uzbeg days. The Moghuls of India had left behind some of their savagery in their native homes and even the Mahrattas rarely wreaked their vengeance on women. Away from their cruelty the Sikhs' methods were much those of the Mahrattas. They appointed Collectors as the Mahrattas did to gather the rents and taxes of the lands they had conquered. Like the Mahrattas too, these officers were held strictly to account. Saharanpur, the Jullunder Doab, in fact, all the country between Lahore and Delhi, were thoroughly plundered by them. Everywhere the Jats, the backbone of the agricultural population, joined them. The fortified town they but rarely attacked, but the open country was everywhere overrun. Khafi Khan pathetically tells us: "For eight or nine months and from two or three days' march of Delhi to the environs of Lahore, all the towns and places of note were pillaged by these unclean wretches, and trodden under foot and destroyed. Men in countless numbers were slain, the whole country was wasted, and mosques and tombs were razed. After leaving Lahore, they returned to the towns and villages of Shahdara and Karnal, the faujdar of which place was slain after resisting to the best of his ability. Now especially great havoc was made. A hundred or two hundred Hindus and Mussulmans who had been made prisoners were made to sit down in one place, and were slaughtered. These infidels had set up a new rule, and had forbidden the shaving of the hair of the head and beard. Many of the ill-disposed low-caste Hindus joined themselves to them, and placing their lives at the disposal of these evil-minded people, found their own advantage in professing belief and obedience, and they were very active in persecuting and killing other castes of Hindus."† The Moghul was ever slow to recognise a new enemy. The Mahrattas were to them only mountain rats at a time when they were organising their power in such a way that

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 415.
† Elliot, Vol. VII, pp. 419-20.

eventually it brought the Moghul domination to the dust. And so the opportunities which occurred over and over again of crushing the Mahratta power was allowed to go neglected. And so with the Sikhs; Shah Alam was so much taken up with operations against the Rajputs, who for many a long year had been never dangerous outside their local limits, that he neglected attending to a sore which was corroding the very centre of his Empire. It was not until some years after his reign began that he made a determined effort to put the Sikhs down. In A. D. 1710, Muhammed Amin Khan, one of his chief Generals, marched against them.

After much fighting the Sikhs were driven at last into the hills. There they were besieged in the fortress of Lohgarh. Little by little their provisions failed, we are told, and from this it can be easily seen how lax the Moghul military discipline had become, that one of the ways by which the Sikhs got their provisions was by purchasing grain from the grain dealers in the Imperial camp, drawing up baskets containing the same over the walls into the fortress. These enthusiasts were encouraged to action with promises much like those which the Old Man of the Mountain in former days made to his disciples, the assassins of the middle ages, *viz.*, that those who died in battle would in the new world inherit a perennial youth.

All the same their position gradually became desperate. At last they managed to break through the besieging lines and get themselves into the inner Himalayas. One of them, a tobacco seller by trade, personated Banda and so when the fort was taken, great was the rejoicing amongst the Moghuls to find the Guru still there. They were soon, however, deceived and in their rage, took prisoner the Ice Raja, as the ruler of the inner Western Himalayas was then called, and put him into the same cage with the sham Guru. The Sikhs were at last broken for the time, but still Banda remained at large. We will learn hereafter that later in time he too was captured. Then seemingly the organisation was finally broken up. All the same it rose again and flourished. This prob-

ably would not have been if the Empire had been either that of Akbar or of Shah Jahan.

Not through Sikh outrages and Mahratta ravages was the rapid decay of the Empire more clearly demonstrated than by the story of the free-booter Pap Rai, a native of Warangal, in the Deccan. This Pap Rai, who was originally a toddy seller, is said to have started life by torturing and plundering his sister; little by little he got a small band around him and having made a fortress for himself on the top of a small hill began to plunder in the neighbourhood of Warangal. From small beginnings he went on increasing till he actually attacked and plundered the town of Warangal itself, then one of the most populous places in the Deccan. At last it was necessary for the Subahdar of the Deccan himself to march against him. Even then a nine months siege of his fortress was necessary before his power was brought to an end. Attempting to escape, he was wounded, captured and executed, and his limbs exposed over the gates of Hyderabad. The very fact that such a man could cause such an amount of mischief, shows that the strong hand of the Moghul was at last ceasing to operate and that Hindustan was reverting to the condition into which it had fallen after Taimur's invasion. Another few years and the anarchy will be complete. Very soon every man's hand will be against every man and the only rule recognised throughout the country will be the rule of the stronger. Shah Alam died suddenly in 1711 at Lahore. With all his faults he is the last Moghul of whom we can say anything good. After him there succeeded a series of effeminate Eastern Rulers, brought up in the Seraglio with all the vices which spring from such bringing up, and with no virtues to recommend them. The first of these, Jahandar Shah, was the son of Shah Alam. Three other brothers contended against him for the crown and his obtaining it seems to have been the result partly of the fact that one brother was drowned in the river Ravi and that another brother was accidentally shot. Zulfikar Khan, who was on his side, by his potent aid also did much towards obtaining him the crown. It was related that when this Jahandar Shah was informed of the death of his

two brothers (the third one was subsequently killed) and of his having been declared Emperor, he was found in a state of intoxication. In any case his short reign, which continued a little more than a year, seems to have been one in which debauchery gained universal sway in the Emperor's Court. A Courtesan, Lal Kuar, obtained absolute ascendancy over him. Along with her he was accustomed to make expeditions into the town of Delhi and get drunk there; on one occasion he got so intoxicated that when the two were brought back to the palace in the cart in which they had been masquerading, he could not be awakened and so was left asleep at the bottom of this strange conveyance till morning. Such conduct naturally disgusted the great officers of the Court. Lal Kuar had a great friend in one Johra who, according to the authority of the Sair Mutakherin, was a seller of vegetables in the bazaar. This woman put on the airs of a great grandee and her servants, like the servants of such people when they rise in life, were wont to be most offensive towards all whom they might meet. On one occasion her retinue met those of Chin Killich Khan, whom we have already mentioned in the Deccan wars, and who was to become under the name of Nizamul Mulk the future ruler of the Deccan. They roughly ordered this general's men to get out of the way. This the general directed his men to do, but when the woman coming up on an elephant took to abusing him herself, Chin Killich Khan lost his temper and ordered his men to attack her servants. She herself was also soundly whipped by order of the irate grandee. Complaints were promptly made to the Emperor, but Zulfikar Khan who was at the time the real ruler of the State, told Jahandar Shah that any attempt to interfere with Chin Killich Khan would only lead to the Emperor's undoing. On another occasion we are told that Lal Kuar's brother was appointed by Jahandar Shah to the Subahdshipar of Agra and that Zulfikar Khan delayed drawing out the patent. The rest of the story I may tell in Khafi Khan's own words. "Zulfikar Khan was very free spoken to Jahandar Shah, and he replied: 'We courtiers have got into the bad habit of taking bribes, and we cannot do any business unless we get a bribe.' Jahandar Shah smiled, and asked what

bribe he wanted from Lal Kunwar, and he said a thousand guitar-players and drawing masters (ustadi nakkashi). When the Emperor asked what he could want with them, he replied: "You give all the places and offices of us courtiers to these men, and so it has become necessary for us to learn their trade." Jahandar smiled, and the matter dropped."* Such a ruler could not possibly reign long. There have been rulers as great debauchees in India as this young ruler, but hardly one whose debaucheries were so patent to the outside world.

At this time Farokh Siar, the grandson of Bahadur Shah, was the nominal ruler of Bengal. Jahandar Shah on his succession had sent to Jafar Khan, who was the real ruler of that province, to send the young man prisoner to Court. Jafar Khan had more than half made up his mind to comply when he found that Farokh Siar's cause was espoused by Husain Ali Khan, the Governor of Patna. This man was one of the Sayids of Barah and he and his brother Abdullah Khan were two of the most powerful nobles of Hindustan at the time. The second brother commanded at Allahabad. An army was got together under these two Sayids which rapidly marched up to the valley of the Ganges. Of fighting there was but little. Both Jahandar Shah and his son who was defeated before him seem to have been cowards; at any rate, they were not fit to lead an army of any size and their supporters seem to have been but halfhearted in their support. After the last defeat Jahandar Shah fled to Agra and there went to interview Asad Khan, Zulfikar Khan's father, who was still the nominal Wazir of the Empire. Father and son differed in opinion; the son who did not expect any favour from Farokh Siar suggested that war should still be carried on. The father, on the other hand, thought that the correct course would be to hand over the incapable young man to Farokh Siar who had by this time been placed on the royal throne. They received from that Emperor through his chief favourite Amir Jamla promises of protection, but these were only made to be broken. On leaving the royal presence after his first

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 433.

interview Zulfikar Khan was brutally murdered, the father Asad Khan was seized, imprisoned and deprived of all his properties. The place of these two, who had for so long had the greatest influence in the Empire, was taken by the two Sayids. This turned out to be the ruin of Farokh Siar, for he himself, in spite of all what they had done for him, never trusted them. On the other hand, he gave himself over to favourities such as Amir Jamla, men with but little capacity of any sort, but full of cunning and cruelty, and the consequence was that the whole of this reign was one long series of assassinations and judicial murders and that finally the Emperor himself came to an untimely end.

"Farokh Siar had no will of his own. He was young, inexperienced in business, and inattentive to affairs of State. He had grown up in Bengal, far away from his grandfather and father. He was entirely dependent on the opinions of others, for he had no resolution or discretion. By the help of fortune he had seized the crown. The timidity of his character contrasted with the vigour of the race of Timur, and he was not cautious in listening to the words of artful men. From the beginning of his reign he himself brought his troubles on himself." On the one hand were the Sayids really powerful nobles and in their own way statesmen, men who had made Farokh Siar King, with the full support of most of the leading men at the Court at the time; on the other Amir Jamla and a band of parasites, without any real backing, save the Emperor's favour, but interfering and intriguing to the last degree. No reign consequently could have opened more unpropitiously.

Syed Abdullah Khan became Wazir, Husain Ali Khan for some time held no settled office, but was eventually appointed as Subahdar of the Deccan. These two Sayids were at the head of what might be called the Hindustani faction as against the foreign or Turan Nobles, as these were called from the word Turan so often used in Oriental literature as opposed to Iran and meaning the North of the Oxus, of which Nizamul Mulk was the chief. The appointment of Husain Ali Khan to the Subahdarship of the Deccan was a direct insult to Nizamul Mulk inasmuch as he

at the time held this post, and had for a very considerable time been considered the chief authority there. The rivalry between these two eventually led to the overthrow of the Syeds, but of this more hereafter.

In the first years of Farokh Siar's reign the most important events were (omitting the Mahratta affairs concerning which I shall deal hereafter and the quarrels between the various factions of the Court) the ineffectual invasion of Rajputana ending in a fresh treaty with Raja Ajit Singh, religious troubles in the various parts of the Kingdom and the seemingly final suppression of the Sikhs. As regards the first, nothing special need be said. It was the old story of the devastation of the plain country and the retreating of the Rajputs to the hills, of ineffectual attempts of the heavy laden Moghuls to follow them and of an eventual suspension of hostilities, leaving things much as they were.

Religious disturbances were two-fold amongst the Muhammedan community, amongst themselves first of all, and then between them and the Hindus. There is nearly always a latent feeling of hostility between the Shiahs and Sunnis which only needs a convenient occasion for it to burst into flame. The Muhammedan community at that time as a body looked down upon the Hindus, considering them as good servants but as not having a right to aspire to be anything more. It was from this fanciful Muhammedan superiority that the progress of the Mahratta power was so rough an awakening. Inside the territories, which were not only in name but in reality Moghul, the rulers ordinarily attempted to protect their Hindu subjects. If the latter were to be fleeced, it was to be for the benefit of themselves personally or for the State; but the Muhammedan community at large could only be induced by a strong hand to look on matters in such a light. A great outburst happened in 1713 at Ahmedabad when the Hindu "Holi" was in progress. This festival which comes about the time of the Vernal Equinox, a time of year which gives rise to festivals in all parts of the world, is always accompanied with intoxication and a great deal of indecency. The essential, however, is the burning of the "holi" at various places,

particularly at cross roads. A dispute between the Muhammedans and Hindus as to this burning gave rise in Ahmedabad to the wildest riots. The Muhammedan rulers there were in favour of the Hindus and to have given permission to a particular Hindu to burn the "holi" in front of his house. The reason of this decision was that the Muhammedan ruler held that every man was master of his own house and entitled to do what he liked therein. A Muhammedan residing near a Hindu promptly retaliated by killing a cow in front of his own house in full view of the Hindus. These latter assembled, drove their Muhammedan neighbours into their houses, slew the son of the man who had sacrificed the animal and a number of others. This naturally excited the Muhammedans who in their turn executed reprisals, and for days confusion reigned unchecked in the city. The Government officials, though Muhammedans themselves, suffered badly at their co-religionists' hands. The Muhammedan community seems to have had considerable grounds for complaint and it sent two or three of their number to Delhi to complain, but on reaching the capital they were promptly thrown into prison, the Hindus having managed to bribe the Imperial officials, the Empire already being in a state when everything was to be purchased.

Some years later much more serious disturbances broke out in Kashmir. These originated in an agitation raised by a turbulent fanatic named Mahbub Khan. Along with a number of his co-religionists he went to the Kazi and the Deputy Subahdar and demanded that no Hindu should be allowed to ride on a horse, or to wear a coat, or to put on a turban or wear it or go out on excursions to a field or garden or bathe on certain days. In support of this demand he quoted certain legal opinions (Futwaha). Muhammedan Doctors have given a variety of Futwaha on the most various subjects, and it was easy for Mahbub Khan to extract from them a Fatwah concerning Kafirs which would make practically slaves of them, but such decisions, save on the rare occasions that they have been put in force for some political purpose, have never had any practical effect in any Muhammedan State. The Moghul Emperors, who had for their subjects more Hindus than Muhamme-

dans, had been guided by certain rules concerning the treatment of the former and these rules governed the Empire and not the Futwaha of any obscure Muhammedan Lawyer: it was to this effect that the Kazi and Subahdar Deputy answered Mahbub Khan. The latter, however, raised the cry of religion, and pronounced openly that he was going to teach the Hindus their proper place. Matters came to a head when he attacked a respectable Hindu, who was feasting a large number of Brahmins in one of his own gardens, and killed a number of people there. The rioters then proceeded to attack the Government officials, who, they considered, had been too partial towards the Hindus. Mir Ahmed Khan the ruler at the time got together a force, but was unable to drive the rebels out of the streets in Srinagar where they were collected. "The rioters set fire to both sides of the street through which they had passed, and from in front and from the roofs and walls of the houses they discharged arrows and muskets and cast stones and bricks. Women and children flung filth, dirt and whatever they could lay hands on." A fierce fight continued, in which a number were killed, and the Governor was obliged to ask for mercy, and allowed to escape amidst the jeers and insults of the victorious rioters. For months Mahbub Khan acted as the ruler of Kashmir. Under his rule Hindus were killed and many others maltreated. It was only after the death of Farokh Siar that news was received that a new Governor had been sent to Kashmir. Thereupon Mahbub Khan, on finding resistance unavailing, made his submission personally to one of the former officials, the Bakshi (Treasurer). As he was leaving this man's premises he was assassinated together with his two young sons. It is said to have been done by the Shiahs, for they as well as the Hindus had been outraged by his conduct. Further rioting between the Sunnis and Shiahs accompanied by much bloodshed naturally followed. It was only brought to an end by the arrival of the new Governor from Delhi, who by severe measures succeeded in a short time in restoring order.

The Sikhs, after their dispersion at Lohgarh and their retreat to the inner Himalayas, taking advantage of the troublous times

that followed the death of Shah Alam, again became troublesome, making their head-quarters the fort of Gurdaspur in the Punjab. From this place they ravaged the whole of the Western part of that province. Dilir Jung, the Subahdar of Lahore, with great exertions got together a force to march against them and after much fighting drove them into this fort of theirs. It is said that when hard pressed they offered to surrender on condition of their lives being spared, and that as to this Dilir Jung advised them to beg pardon of their crime and of their offences to the Emperor; but whatever he promised, the capitulation of the fort was followed by the most terrible butchery. Thousands were slain on the spot; two thousand heads of Sikhs stuffed with hay were sent by the successful General to Delhi to show that his victory had been a reality. Along with these heads went a thousand prisoners amongst whom was Banda, his son of 7 to 8 years old and his Diwan. On their arrival at Delhi the prisoners had their faces blackened and wooden caps put on their heads. Then they were paraded on camels through the city, with the stuffed heads accompanying them, and so they were marched before the Emperor. After this the whole of them were put to death in batches in the bazar. Last of all Banda himself was put to death after he had been forced to kill his own son. Stories are told of the devotedness of these men and how great was their devotion to their Guru. One of these is told by Khafi Khan in the following language. "When the executions were going on, the mother of one of the prisoners, a young man just arrived at manhood having obtained some influential support, pleaded the cause of her son with great feeling and earnestness before the Emperor and Sayad Abdullah Khan. She represented that her son had suffered imprisonment and hardships at the hands of the sect. His property was plundered, and he was made prisoner. While in captivity, he was, without any fault of his own, introduced into the sect, and now stood innocent amongst those sentenced to death. Furukh Siar commiserated this artful woman, and mercifully sent an officer with orders to release the youth. That cunning woman arrived with the order of release just as the executioner was

standing with his bloody sword upheld over the young man's head. She showed the order for his release. The youth then broke out into complaints, saying, "My mother tells a falsehood; I with heart and soul join my fellow-believers in devotion to the Guru; send me quickly after my companions."*

The sect was now seemingly at an end; the organisation was broken up, their chiefs were killed or in exile and it seemed that the Sikh heresy, as the Hindus would call it, would be known simply as one of the many heresies which for many centuries have ruffled the surface of the Hindu religion and then disappeared. But the subsequent anarchy to which the Punjab was reduced and the virility of the race which had adopted Sikhism as their faith, prevented this from happening and after a very few years it again showed itself in great strength; every day increasing and increasing, until towards the end of the century a Sikh Chieftain became the ruler of the Punjab and established a power there, which became the most formidable adversary which the British has ever had to meet in Hindustan.

We now return from the outskirts of the Empire to Delhi itself. The two Sayads, as I have already said, were all powerful and the great offices of the Empire were concentrated in them. They had placed Furukh Siar on the throne and could, so everybody at the time was aware, if they so wished, set aside their puppet. But Furukh Siar, although a puppet, had no desire to be so, and Court favourites, of whom Mir Jumla was the chief, were ever urging on him to get rid of the two powerful Sayads. Nor were Court favourites the only persons who were dissatisfied with the rule of these nobles. I have already mentioned that Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Chief Turanian noble at the time, had been grossly insulted by the younger Sayad's appointment as Subahdar of the Deccan and, Nizam-ul-Mulk, although the chief, was only one of his class. The foreign nobles generally were not pleased with having the two Sayads of Barah, men, who although they were descendants of the Prophet, had ancestors who for quite a

* Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 458

number of generations had resided in India, as the all-powerful authorities in the State, and so all the elements of discord were present.

The Sayads were determined not to permit the Court favourites to become too strong and so they forced Furukh Siar to send away Mir Jumla to Patna. Husain Ali Khan was at the time bound for the Deccan, but he is recorded before his departure to have addressed the Emperor in the following fashion:—

"If in my absence you recall Mir Jumla to your presence, or if my brother, Kutb-ul-Mulk, Sayad Abdullah, again receive similar treatment, you may rely upon my being here from the Dakhin in the course of twenty days."*

Further stipulations which he made, gave to him the sole power of appointing Commandants to the forts. Nizam-ul-Mulk was not inclined to give up the Deccan without a struggle, but he did not think it prudent to show his hand openly and so stirred up Daud Khan Pani, the Subahdar of Ahmednuggur, to oppose Husain Ali Khan. This Daud Khan, a typical fighting Afghan, acting probably not only on the suggestions of Nizam-ul-Mulk but on confidential requests from the Emperor, openly resisted Husain Ali Khan. The consequence was a pitched battle near Berhampur in which Daud Khan with a much smaller force of Afghans fought with desperate courage against Husain Ali Khan's troops. Daud Khan was, however, a swordsman rather than a General, and after showing great personal prowess was killed by a stray cannon ball.

About this time died Asad Khan, the father of Zulfikar Khan, who had been so brutally murdered. Furukh Siar is said to have sent him a message in the days of his last illness to the following effect:

"We did not know your worth, and have done what we ought not to have done to such a valuable servant of the State, but repentance is of no avail; still we hope you will give us your advice about the way to treat the Sayads."†

* Elliot, Vol. VII, pp. 449-450.
† Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 461.

To this the old man is said to have replied as follows:

"The fault which you committed, contrary to the practice of your ancestors, proceeded only from the will of God. I knew that, when the office of minister went out of my family, ruin threatened the House of Timur. But as you have placed yourself and the reins of power in the hands of the Sayads of Barah, the best thing for the State is, that you should, to the best of your ability, deal kindly with them, and not carry matters to such a pitch that strife and discord should increase, and you should lose all power."*

Affairs ever grew worse between the Sayads and the Emperor. Husain Ali Khan spent most of his time in 1717 and 1718 in the Deccan; at one time fighting with the Mahrattas and at another entering into negotiations with them. Abdullah Khan, on the other hand, spent his time, when he did not give himself over to pleasure, for he was a licentious man, in quarrelling with the various officials of the Court and the Emperor himself. At one time matters got so bad, that for months no papers whatsoever were signed by him, although he being Wazir, his signature was necessary for the current work of the realm. Husain Ali Khan finally entered into a treaty of peace with the Mahrattas, the details of which I shall write about hereafter, but which was considered by the Imperial Court as highly derogatory to the Moghuls. The Emperor at last made a serious attempt to get rid of the Sayads' control. Inspired by a Court favourite, described as a Kashmiri of low origin, and who is said to have been, according to the scandal of the time, the Minister of the Emperor's not over-reputable pleasures, Furukh Siar called in Sir Buland Khan, the Governor of Patna, Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had been given a comparatively small appointment at Moradabad, a town in what is now known as Rohilkund, and Raja Ajit Singh, the Rajput, to the capital, and proposed to them to put an end to the Barah nobles' supremacy; but as his first suggestion was that the Kashmiri should be made Wazir in the place of Sayad Abdullah Khan, these great noblemen did not show any great

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 461.

desire to enter into the Emperor's plans. Husain Ali Khan in the Deccan, however, had heard of them and so set his army on march to the Court. In this march he was accompanied by a force of Mahratta auxiliaries. Fort after fort he occupied on his way without opposition, Nizam-ul-Mulk had already left Delhi in disgust and gone to Moradabad. Sir Buland Khan who had put himself to great expense and who was finding no means of recouping himself, is said to have determined to become a religious *fakir*, but in any case his hostilities were disarmed by the Sayad Wazir, who appointed him to the Subahdarship of Cabul. Raja Ajit Singh, the third of the great men upon whom the Emperor relied, became reconciled to the Minister, and so when Husain Ali Khan reached Delhi, there was not one of the great nobles or Generals of the Empire that in any way opposed him. That Husain Ali Khan had come with the intention to dethrone Furukh Siar, was evident from his having ordered his drums to be beaten loudly on his approach to Delhi, for, according to the law of the Moghuls, no drums were ever allowed to be beaten near the residence of the Emperor. Furukh Siar's conduct was what might have been expected. "But the strangest thing was that the heedless Emperor—although he heard the sounds of the hostile drums and trumpets, which rose so boldly—and publicly—and although at the sound of the drum other drums in every street and market beat to arms—even then he did not come to his senses. All resolution and prudence was cast aside. Now raging with anger, he rolled up his sleeves (for action) threatening vengeance against the two brothers; now taking a conciliatory turn, he sat behind the curtain of dissimulation and opened the door of amity upon the face of enmity."* ||

Such conduct could have only one termination. Husain Ali entered into the fort and the reign of Furukh Siar was over. The night which ensued was one of dread and confusion throughout the city, but all the same there was but little rioting, and when next morning Rafi-ud-Darjah, a youthful descendant of Aurangzeb,

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 474.

was put on the throne, the town settled down again to its ordinary avocations. This happened in A. D. 1719. Whether Furukh Siar was put to death at once, or whether he met his end a little time afterwards is not certain. In any case there was with him but one step from the throne to the grave. He was never seen outside of his prison house again. The newly proclaimed Emperor died after a reign of six months. After him another puppet, also a descendant of Aurangzeb, named Rafi-ud-Doulah, succeeded but he too died after a reign of three months. During the reign of these two young men the rulers of the country were the Sayads, though everywhere the local Governors had begun to take all the real power in their hands. Another youthful puppet followed, also descended from Aurangzeb, named Muhammad Shah. His reign, unlike theirs, was prolonged for 29 years, but its records are one long story of ever-increasing disintegration, till at last on the sack of Delhi by the Persian Conqueror, Nadir Shah, in 1739, the Empire itself as a governing institution may be said to have come to an end.

The first year of Muhammad Shah's reign was the last of the rule of the Sayads. The Turanian nobles everywhere were disaffected and the chief of them, Nizam-ul-Mulk, broke out into open revolt. The first matter which called the attention of the Sayads, however, was not to put down the Muhammedan revolt but the subjection of a Hindu nobleman. Chabila Ram, a Hindu of distinction, was Governor at Allahabad at the time of the accession of the new Prince. His attitude was such that immediate preparations had to be made to proceed against him, but before the expedition started he was dead. His brother's son Girdhar Bahadur, however, seized the vacant Governorship and declined to submit the fort to the Sayaas although they made great promises. Husain Ali Khan was in command of the besieging army. The other brother, Sayad Abdullah, accompanied by the Emperor had at first been in the besieging camp, but on Girdhar Bahadur promising to surrender, this Sayad and the Emperor left and started on their way to Delhi. On hearing, however, that the promise had not been kept, they returned back. Finally Ratan

Chand Dewan and the Sayads met Girdhar and settled an arrangement, the same being confirmed by an oath on Ganges water. The result of this was that the Imperialists obtained possession of Allahabad. But in the meantime their attention was called to the movements of Nizam-ul-Mulk. This crafty and experienced nobleman had been sent away from Delhi at the beginning of Rafi-ud-Darjah's reign to Malwa, of which place he had been appointed Subahdar. While there, he got messages both from the Emperor and the Emperor's mother that the Sayads were bent upon destroying him. Abiding his time, he got large reinforcements from the Deccan, where he had been employed for a number of years, and at last considered himself strong enough to march to Delhi. Burhanpur fell into his hands without a struggle. Moving slowly towards the North and West he defeated Dilawar Ali Khan, the General of the Sayads, in May 1720, a few miles from Ratanpur. Shortly afterwards he also defeated Alam Khan, the adopted son of Husain Ali Khan, who had been appointed in succession to him as Viceroy of the Deccan by the Sayads.

This news caused great consternation at Delhi; there the Sayads had alienated not only the Moghuls, but a great number of Native Muhammedan noblemen by the great favour they had shown to the Hindus, and particularly to Ratan Chand who virtually under them governed the kingdom. The state of feeling in that city is graphically described by Khafi Khan.

"There were a number of persons, old servants, attendants and officials of the two brothers, especially of Sayad Abdullah, who through them had risen to great honour and prosperity. But the infamous murder of the martyr Emperor (Furukh Siar), the sight of the indignities which the Emperor, the representative of the House of Timur, had to endure, and the fact of the administration being under the direction of a base-born shop-keeper (Ratan Chand) had, under the guidance of the converter of Hearts, so changed their feelings, that some of them often said, 'Although we know that we shall suffer many hardships through the downfall of the Barahs, still we hope that, through the blindness of its ill-wishers, the House of Timur may again acquire

splendour'. Some of the relations and officials of the two brothers often offered up their prayers to God, and said, 'The end of the lives of the two brothers, who have no children, is evident; but woe to all Barah Sayads, for we know what evil awaits our children through the misdeeds of these two men.' "*

The two brothers determined between themselves that Husain Ali should march against Nizam-ul-Mulk taking the Emperor with him, while Sayad Abdullah should remain at Delhi. The Imperial Army had not, however, got much beyond Agra, when the Sayad brother accompanying it was assassinated by Mir Hyder Khan, an Afghan. Great confusion followed; partizans of the Sayads attempted to seize the Emperor, but the rival faction in the camp proved to be too strong for them and the Emperor found himself freed from the control of his two powerful protectors. On this news reaching Delhi, Sayad Abdullah put another scion of the House of Timur on the throne as Emperor, getting together a fresh army to which the Jats contributed a very large number. This army set out very slowly to meet the Emperor's force which were mainly the troops of Husain Ali. It is mentioned by the historian that this newly got up army seems to have been altogether without discipline.

"Notwithstanding all the lavish distribution of the money which had been collected by cartfuls from house to house, and which had been extorted by bribery or with violence by Ratan Chand from the wretched rayats, and laid up for a time like this, the old soldiers wanted two months' pay in advance, that they might free themselves from their liabilities to the bankers, and provide themselves with warm clothing, arms and harness. They were satisfied with the promise of one month's pay, and at last money for the pay of ten days of Mohurrum was somehow raised, but they could not get the balance."†

The leaders of the royal army, on the other hand, had won the hearts of the soldiers by promising them their arrears of pay. The

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* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 501.
† Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 511.

battle which followed was fought at Husainpur, a place between Agra and Delhi. According to our Chronicler, Sayad Abdullah's troops fought magnificently—only the royal army fought better. However, this may be, the battle was not settled on the first day; on the second, when the Imperialists attacked Sayad Abdullah, he was foolish enough to dismount from his elephant. The consequence was a dispersal of his army and his being taken prisoner. The puppet of an Emperor set up by him was pardoned, a rare thing in those days. Sayad Abdullah's captivity did not last long: he died in 1722, probably poisoned, and Nizam-ul-Mulk who had not been present at the decisive battle but who arrived some time afterwards at Delhi, received the appointment of Wazir of the Empire.

We now get to the last chapter of the history of the Empire before complete anarchy set in; but before proceeding further it is necessary that we should hark back and tell what the Mahrattas had been doing during the troublesome years between the death of Aurangzeb and the point at which I have now arrived.

I have already stated that when Azam Shah set out on his march to Agra in order to contest the possession of the Imperial throne with his elder brother Bahadur Shah, he set at liberty Sahoo, the son of Sambhuji, who for many years had been kept by Aurangzeb as a prisoner about his Court. At this time Tarabai, the widow of Ram Raja, the younger brother of Sambhuji and accordingly grandson of Sivaji, was the nominal head of the Mahratta power; she being a woman of much ambition was not at all disposed to yield to Sahoo without a struggle. In this she was encouraged by the leading Mahrattas at her Court, whose ambition was more effectually served by service under a woman than it would have been by obedience to a man. Sahoo accordingly did not obtain possession of the headship of the Mahratta race without a struggle, and even when he did take possession of Sattara, the capital of the Mahratta lands, Tarabai and afterwards one of her sons (he was at this time very young) continued to hold a rival court at Kolapur. Sahoo himself had, during the many years that he had been in the Imperial Court, lost much of the virility and activity which char-

acterised a Mahratta, and as a consequence, although he obtained the titular headship of the race, the real power departed elsewhere, largely into the hands of his Brahmin Ministers, but also in part to the leading generals some of whom, such as Scindia, Holkar and the Gaekwar founded dynasties which have survived to the present day. Of these Nimaji Scindia was the most considerable. Like Guru Govind of the Sikhs, he found it to suit his interest to take the part of Shah Alam and in the decisive battle against Kaum Buksh was to be found fighting on the Imperial side. An extraordinary story is told as to the origin of another of the great Mahratta families which in the days of the anarchy exercised so great an influence in Central India. Sahoo had to storm a small village, the people of which had taken the side of Tarabai. During the fight a woman with a boy in her arms rushed towards the Mahratta Chief, threw the child down, and shouted that she devoted the child to the Raja's service. Sahoo accepted the child, named the lad Fateh Singh and treated him as his own son. This Fateh Singh was the founder of the Bhonsla family which reigned up till 1852 A. D. in Nagpore.

It was in these contests between Sahoo and Tarabai that Poona became the real head-quarters of the Mahratta power. The Governor of Poona, known as the Suchew, was the partizan of Tarabai and held the place nominally for her. Sahoo moved to attack him in A. D. 1711, but before the two parties joined issue the Suchew committed suicide by a process known as the Jalsamad (voluntary death by water). "It is effected by placing a wooden platform upon serveral earthen pots, with their mouths turned down, to which planks are fastened, and small holes are bored in the earthen vessels; the whole is placed in deepwater, on some river accounted holy, and the devotee seats or ties himself on the platform, which gradually sinks with him."*

Balaji Vishvanath was a Brahmin, and he and his descendants were known as the Mahratta Peshwas; within a very few years they became the acknowledged heads of the Mahratta con-

* Duff, Vol. I, p. 424.

federacy and Poona originally Balaji's appanage, became the capital of the race. Tarabai's son died of smallpox in 1712. Consequently the son of Tarabai's co-wife was put on the Kolapur *guddi*. The Brahmin Ministers carried on the administration as before, but Tarabai was confined and lost all influence in the Kolapur State. While Zulfikar Khan was the Governor of the Deccan, he managed by judicious arrangements and by allowing the Mahrattas to collect a certain amount of *chouth* to keep the country more or less quiet. On the death of Shah Bahadur and on the cessation of Zulfikar's power in the Deccan, things again reverted to their former condition. Everywhere the Mahrattas were to be found robbing and plundering, sometimes under the pretence of collecting the legitimate dues of the Mahratta ruler, and at other times without any pretence at all. Nizam-ul-Mulk, who succeeded Zulfikar Khan as the Moghul ruler of the Deccan for a short time, favoured the Kolapur regency all along, and by his influence that power gained considerable ground. On the other hand, by this time Balaji Vishvanath had made his influence felt in support of Sahoo, and as he was a man of much energy and vigour, the Sattara State still remained the stronger. When Nizam-ul-Mulk was withdrawn from the Deccan and one of the Sayad brothers was appointed Subahdar in his place, the Kolapur power became almost a negligible quantity. This was in no way due to Sahoo himself. His character is thus described by Grant Duff. "Sahoo was not destitute of ordinary ability, he was naturally generous, liberal to all religious establishments, observant of forms enjoined by the Hindu faith, and particularly charitable to Brahmins. The Ghaut Mahta and the rugged Concan were his birthright, but unused to climb Ghauts, or wander and live in the wilds of the mountain-forest, like his hardy grandfather, Sahoo's childhood was spent within the enclosure o the imperial seraglio, and it is not surprising, that seduced by the pomp and luxury of which he partook, his habits should continue those of a Muhammedan. He occasionally showed all the violence of the Mahratta character, and for the time, anger overcame his indolence, but in general he was satis-

fied with the respect and homage paid to his person, and the professions of obedience invariably shown by the ministers to his commands; he was pleased at being freed from the drudgery of business, and in following his favourite amusements of hawking, hunting, and fishing; he did not foresee that he was delegating a power, which might supersede his own. As legitimate head of the Mahrattas, the importance of that nation was increased by the manner in which he was courted by the Moghuls, and the dignities and rights conferred upon him in consequence of his situation, gave an influence and respect to the name of Sahoo, which, under other circumstances, he could never have attained. Both the sons of Sivaji followed the example of their father, from the period when he mounted the throne, and always declared their independence; but Sahoo acknowledged himself a vassal of the throne of Delhi, and whilst styling himself King of the Hindus he affected, in his transactions with the Moghuls, to consider himself merely as a Zamindar, or Head Deshmukh of the Empire."* Husain Ali Khan, the Sayad successor of Nizam-ul-Mulk, pressed as he was by the Court rivalries which threatened to deprive him of his power, found it necessary to come to terms with the Mahrattas. His treaty with them, which he negotiated through Balaji Vishvanath, although not ratified at the time by the Delhi Court, may be considered as a turning point in the history of the Deccan. By it certain territories known as Swuraji was granted to Sahoo and his successors in territorial sovereignty, only the suzerainty of the Moghul Empire being preserved. This territory consisted of the greater part of what is known as the Mahratta country. Outside of this the Mahrattas were granted *chouth* (one-fourth of the revenue) in the six Moghul Subahs of the Deccan—the condition being simply the maintenance of 15,000 horse for the purpose of assisting the military Governors in preserving tranquillity. A further grant of Sur-desh-mukhi or 10 per cent. of the revenue of the Deccan was granted also in perpetuity to the Mahratta rulers, for what services, it is not very

* Duff, Vol. I, p. 440.

clear, though presumably it was for help to the Moghul Governors. As to this, the Mahratta treasury had to pay down in advance a fee of 6½ years income as Peshkush. All throughout India wherever long leases are given or grants of a similar nature are made, it is customary to take besides the reserved rent a very considerable amount of money in advance as a premium under different names such as Salami or Peshkush. Sur-desh-mukhi was not in terms a hereditary grant but as the fee was charged as if it were, the Mahrattas had substantial reasons for claiming it to be such. Besides these rights they also claimed some rights of tribute over both Gujarat and Malwa, but these were never reduced to writing, and probably only existed in the Mahratta Statesmen's desires. This treaty, as I have said, was originally made by Sayad Husain Ali and was not confirmed at the time by the Imperial Court, but Balaji Vishvanath accompanied this Sayad on his march to Delhi which terminated in Furukh Siar's deposition and in the earliest days of Muhammad Shah's rule this arrangement was confirmed. Balaji Vishvanath died almost immediately afterwards in A. D. 1720. The consequence of this agreement was twofold. First of all, the Mahratta power thereby became supreme South of the Vindhya Mountains, and the Moghul power throughout the greater part of Southern India became reduced to more or less of a shadow. Secondly, with the rule of the Mahratta, came the rule of unlimited license. No man in Southern India knew how far his property was safe and to what exactions he might have to submit or how much he might have to pay. During the Moghul sovereignty, law in theory at least ruled everywhere, and in spite of the numerous local exactions, the Moghul subject ordinarily was only taxed within certain limits recognised by the law. One may say indeed, that in spite of all its defects, the Moghul rule was the rule of law. But with the Mahrattas all this finished. Law no more had any say. Hosts of tax gatherers, each of them a law to himself, took the place of the ordinary tax collector of the Moghuls. The consequences were inevitable. Within a very few years the countries which were overrun by the Mahrattas fell into a state of destitution and ruin; and though the governing

power at Poona tried its best to collect within its own treasury the greater part of the moneys extorted from the miserable inhabitants of the countries in which these taxes were collected, their attempts had but very partial success. Everywhere military chiefs collected on their own account, and it must be remembered that besides the great chiefs there were a large number of petty military bands amenable to no one which did only what seemed best in the eyes of the petty chiefs who commanded them.

Nizam-ul-Mulk did not stay long at Court. When he arrived there, he found matters in a great state of disorder; the Imperial authority had been slighted at Ajmere by the Rajput Governor and although preparations had been taken to punish this man, yet owing to quarrels between the chief noblemen at Court, nothing had been done and the matter had been seemingly passed over. Similar news came from other parts of the Empire, besides incessant stories of wrongs committed by the Mahrattas in the Deccan. Nizam-ul-Mulk seemed to have had hopes of doing something to remedy this state of affairs; in order to do which a reform in the Court itself would have been an absolutely necessary antecedent. Accordingly he gave advice to the Emperor how he should behave in public and in private; how he should assume, when abroad, an air of gravity and seriousness, and should set apart certain hours every day for public business and in particular for rendering justice. He also advised him to reform his Court by preventing his favourites (women particularly) from being supreme there. The Emperor, however, was young, loved pleasure and had many advisers at hand both amongst the Delhi noblemen and amongst the women of the Seraglio, who everywhere obstructed Nizam-ul-Mulk. In particular Khan Dauran, who had the chief power at Court before the arrival of Nizam-ul-Mulk, was desirous to get rid of the latter, who, he thought, was an obstacle in his way; so did also a woman Poki Padshah, one of the Emperor's Harem favourites, who used all her influence with him to prevent Nizam-ul-Mulk's advice from bearing any weight. The new Wazir himself (Nizam-ul-Mulk) was not perhaps the best person to reform a Court such as Delhi had become, he being old, reserved in manners and inclined to stop all

amusements whatsoever. As regards specific points, Khafi Khan tells us that Nizam-ul-Mulk advised the Emperor that the system of farming the Khalisa lands ought to be stopped; secondly, that the bribes which were received under the name of Peshkûsh by the Emperor and his chief noblemen injured his good name and were contrary to good policy, and thirdly, that the Jizya should be reimposed. It is also stated that he advised the Emperor to help Persia in its struggle against the Afghans who at the time were conquering that country. As regards this last point, however, this may be taken as only a counsel of perfection. The Moghul Emperor had too much to do to maintain a resemblance of power over a large part of the Southern dominions to attempt any external conquests. As regards the third point, it will be seen that Nizam-ul-Mulk wished to revive Aurangzeb's system, which would have only brought the inevitable end of the Moghul power sooner, but as regards the first two points if the Emperor had listened to him, much might have been gained. An honest administration by public servants of the Khalisa lands would probably have made the dwellers in them at least fairly contented, and enabled these lands to provide a certain number of competent soldiers to fight for the Empire. Letting such lands to farmers meant that the cultivators in them would be fleeced of everything that they had and that the lands themselves would quickly go out of cultivation. Farming in India is commonly only too prevalent. Every one in the country does it from the Government down to the very small lessee of a very small landlord and perhaps it cannot be prevented. At all times, however, its evils are obvious, and in a time such as that of which we are now writing, especially in the cause of these Khalisa lands, large in area as they were, the result was inevitably disastrous. As regards the taking of Peshkush, gifts have always been, in the East, made to the rulers; generally the lower an Empire has sunk, the larger has been the amount of such gifts. It was idle of Nizam-ul-Mulk to wish that these should be abandoned, especially at such a time when probably it was through them that the Emperor and his chief courtiers chiefly got their ready cash. Anyhow, the Wazir, although given

a new title of Wakil Mutalik (supreme Lieutenant-General), felt this journey to Delhi to be a failure. Asking leave that he might go out hunting, he set off to the Deccan where he stayed looking after this Subah of which he was Viceroy together with the other neighbouring governments, which he held from time to time. There he remained till shortly before the time that Nadir Shah invaded India, and the history of the Deccan and really of India for the next few years is that of his intrigues, contests and agreement with the Mahratta Generals and rulers. He was not allowed, however, to get back to the Deccan without obstruction. Letters were sent privately from Delhi to the Military Governor at Burhanpur, requesting him to attack the returning Viceroy and promising him in case of success the reversion of the Viceroyalty. A battle ensued between the two in which the Burhanpur Governor was killed and Nizam-ul-Mulk ironically wrote to the Emperor stating that this Governor had rebelled and that he had chastised and killed him. He also sent the usual present sent by victorious Generals to the Emperor under such circumstances; along with this he also sent the Governor's head.

Nizam-ul-Mulk's chief opponent was Baji Rao, the new Peshwa. This man was as capable as his father and being able to act on a wider scale, made for himself a great career during the first twenty years of Muhammad Shah's reign. It was he, more than any one else, who induced the Mahrattas to invade Hindustan and to reduce it to the same state of anarchy and suffering as that into which the Deccan had, by reason of incessant Maharatta raids, already fallen. He did not, however, succeed in inducing Sahoo and the other chiefs to accept this policy without opposition. In Council fears were expressed lest such a plan should be too great for the Mahratta strength, and should bring against them the whole strength of the Empire including that of Nizam-ul-Mulk who, in case the Mahratta forces were largely engaged in the North, would probably take the occasion to attack their earlier conquests in the South. But Baji Rao was more than a match for his opponents. He had the rare faculty of being able to read the signs of the times, and to one who had such a faculty it was obvious

that the Moghul Empire, although still nominally as large as in the days of its glory, was really on the high way to dissolution. As a matter of policy he also saw that the Deccan being already a devastated country it was necessary to keep the numerous Mahratta bodies of horse engaged by employing them on excursions in the field. One of the discussions is reported thus: "'Now is our time,' said this gallant Peshwa, 'to drive strangers from the land of Hindus, and to acquire immortal renown. By directing our efforts to Hindustan, the Mahratta flag in your reign shall fly from the Kistna to the Attock.' 'You shall plant it on the Himalaya,' exclaimed the Raja, 'you are indeed a noble son of a worthy father.' Baji Rao improved the opportunity by urging Sahoo not to think of minor objects, and alluding to the Moghul Empire, 'let us strike,' said he, 'at the trunk of the withering tree, the branches must fall of themselves'."*

At the time of Nizam-ul-Mulk's return to the Deccan, Hamid Khan, his uncle, was Governor of Gujarat, but before the former got back to his government Sir Buland Khan was sent from Cabul to supersede the latter. An appointment by the Court of the Governorship of one of the outlying provinces had come by this time to mean but little, the Governor so appointed having to take possession of his appointment and this generally meant fighting. Hamid Khan was not in a humour to submit without a struggle. Aided by the Mahrattas he attacked Sir Buland Khan, but although he obtained a signal victory at the start, he was unable to maintain himself in his position, and Sir Buland Khan managed to capture Ahmedabad the capital and to maintain himself there for a time. But he had never been in high favour of the Court and so within about three years the Rajput Raja Abi Singh was sent to supersede him. This Raja first of all tried to take possession of the province by means of a Deputy, but the latter was defeated and driven away by Sir Buland Khan. Then he arrived himself, and after an indecisive battle Sir Buland Khan entered his camp alone, reminded him that their fathers

* Duff, Vol. I, p. 486.

had been friends and appealed to his generosity. The result was that Abi Singh took possession of the province which he held for a time and then finally made it over to the Mahrattas. The province of Malwa at the time was also governed by a Hindu, Raja Girdhar. It also was invaded year by year by the Mahrattas, and although help was called for from the Imperial Court no help ever was forthcoming. After Raja Girdhar's death and after that of his successor, Malwa also fell into the Mahratta's hands. All this time Nizam-ul-Mulk had been more or less looking on. We are given indeed by Khafi Khan a panegyric on this Chief. "In a short time the country was brought under the control of the Mussalman authorities, it was scoured from the abominations of infidelity and tyranny. Under former Subahdars the roads had been infested with the ruffianism of highway robbers, and the rapacity of the Mahrattas and rebellious zamindars, so that traffic and travelling were stopped; but now the highways were safe and secure. The Mahrattas exacted the chouth with all sorts of tyranny from the jagirdars; and in addition to it, ten per cent. under the name of sur-desh-mukhi was collected from the zamindars and rayats. By these means odious kamaish-dars were removed and changed every week and month; orders beyond all the endurance of the rayats were issued, and annoyances and insults were heaped upon the collectors of the jagirdars. Nizam-ul-Mulk so arranged that, instead of the chouth of the subah of Haidarabad, a sum of money should be paid from his treasury; and that the sur-desh-mukhi, which was levied from the rayats at the rate of ten per cent., should be abandoned. He thus got rid of the presence of the kamaish-dars of the chouth, and the gumashtas of the sur-desh-mukhi and the rahdari, from which latter impost great annoyance had fallen upon travellers and traders."* There is this much truth in the above statement that, as regards the part of the country which Nizam-ul-Mulk himself effectively ruled, that is roughly the present state of Haidarabad, he managed, by reason of regular payments of the Mahratta demands, to save it from

* Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 530.

incessant invasion; otherwise, I am afraid the praise is undeserved. A great intriguer, he attempted to bring again to the front the rival claims of the Kolapur Raja and proposed to be the arbitrator between him and Sahoo. He made the mistake in this matter of suggesting that revenues paid under the head of chouth and sur-desh-mukhi should be sequestrated until he had given his award. The result was war between himself and the Peshwa. Nizam-ul-Mulk possessed a powerful park of artillery, but his troops had none of the mobility of the Mahrattas and so after an ineffective campaign, he found himself in great straits and was forced to negotiate. The treaty which followed, stipulated that security should be afforded in the future for the collections of the Mahratta revenues and that all arrears should be made good. There was also a request that the Kolapur Raja Sambhaji who was in Nizam-ul-Mulk's camp should be surrendered, but this the Muhammedan Chief refused to grant. An amusing story is told of this Sambhaji. "He requested at the conclusion of an interview to say a word in private to Nizam-ul-Mulk, and when he got him alone begged of him not to give any money on account of the subsidy to his Karkoons (agents) as they would defraud the troops. At the same time the Brahmins by another representation, also private, represented that Sambhaji would spend the whole on dancing girls; dissipate it in drinking and debauchery; and leave them to starvation, and the troops to revolt."*

It was in the next two or three years between 1729-1732 that Gujarat and Malwa may be said to have finally come into the Mahratta's hands. Having now obtained these provinces, the Peshwa was in a position to enforce his views to strike for the sovereignty of Hindustan itself. The opposition which he had met in the early days of his Peshwaship still troubled him, and although the chiefs, the ancestors of the two great families of Scindia and Holkar, on the whole, stood by him, he was never supported by the Bhonslas who subsequently became the ruling power in Nagpore; this family never indeed cordially united with

* Duff, Vol. I, p. 502.

the other Mahrattas in pushing towards Northern India. Bundelkund was the first country to be invaded. Muhammad Khan Bangash, a Rohilla, had recently established himself there by dispossessing a couple of Hindu Rajas who were at the time in semi-independent rule of this province. The Mahrattas employed their usual tactics, cut off supplies, and brought Muhammad Khan into great straits, from which he was only rescued by a force of his own clan, headed by his only son. He had, however, to retreat to Allahabad and leave the Mahrattas in possession of the province. The Rajputs fared hardly better; Mewar and Jodhpur were both overrun and forced to pay tribute. The cohesion, if not the gallantry of this race, seems not to have been the same as it was in the days of Akbar or even of Shah Jahan, when, as Imperial Generals, they were foremost in the Imperial armies. The resistance in Rajputana to the Mahrattas was but slight.

The Imperial Court during all this time was too engrossed in debauchery and in intrigue to do anything. More than once, indeed, an army was got together which was about to sweep these rascally Mahrattas from the face of the earth, but after marching a few stages and killing a few robbers, it would return quite pleased with itself and the victorious General would obtain some one of the many epithets with which Eastern Muhammedan Monarchs have in recent days been so fond of decorating their servants. The Seir Mutakherin says as regards one of these great Generals that the people in private repeated of him the following verse: "You to perform such a business. Is it so that the braves behave?"* Up from Bundelkund, further north struck the Mahratta hordes. The only General who seems to have been successful against them was Saadat Khan, who had already made himself semi-independent in Oudh.

The Court had, on the news of Baji Rao's march north, been thrown into the greatest confusion and were ready to admit his most exorbitant demands. A Mahratta is not particularly modest in such matters and what they were then requesting, was virtu-

* Seir Mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 268.

ally that the whole of India South of the Chambal should be made over to them. But while these negotiations were going on, Saadat Khan in A. D. 1736 crossed the Ganges from Oudh and drove a large body of the Mahratta troops across the Jumna. The news of his success puffed up the Imperial Court with an idea that the Mahrattas were not so terrible after all, but Baji Rao very soon disillusioned it. Marching rapidly north and avoiding the Imperial armies he encamped at the very gates of Delhi. He was afraid, however, to maintain himself there as Nizam-ul-Mulk was in the south and he was afraid lest the latter should take advantage of his absence to collect the revenues of Malwa and generally to injure the Mahratta power in the south. Accordingly, contenting himself with 13 lakhs of rupees paid by the Imperial Government and a promise of the Government of Malwa which indeed he already efficiently held, Baji Rao retreated south. In the meanwhile, Nizam-ul-Mulk appeared at last in Court and had the Governorship of Malwa and Gujarat granted to him in the name of his eldest son Ghazi-ud-din. On his side he promised to drive the Mahrattas out of these provinces. The consequence was a campaign in what is now the modern State of Bhopal between the Peshwa and Nizam-ul-Mulk. The same old mistakes were committed by the latter. Instead of attacking, he fortified himself near Seronj, and although the Mahrattas could not attack him with any success owing to his artillery, they so straitened his supplies that after attempts made to save him by his son by means of an army from the Deccan had failed (no attempt was made in the Delhi direction where the courtiers only talked but did nothing), he was forced to come to an agreement with the Peshwa. The main terms of this treaty, were the grant to Baji Rao of Malwa and the complete sovereignty of all the territory between the Nerbudda and the Chambal. Nizam-ul-Mulk further agreed to obtain the confirmation of these terms and to use every endeavour to procure a subsidy of 50 lakhs of rupees from the Emperor. The Peshwa said he tried his best to get something out of the old man himself, but Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was very fond of his money, declined and Baji Rao did not press the point. So by this year, 1738, the Moghul

Empire had ceased, save in name, to exist in the whole of Southern India (save in isolated places such as the port of Surat) and in a very considerable part of Hindustan itself. In its place everywhere was to be found Mahratta rule, save where Nizam-ul-Mulk had established his own dominions. In the part, moreover, which still remained of the Empire, provinces such as Bengal, Behar, Oudh and Cabul, were under Muhammedan Governors more or less semi-independent. Indeed, it was in such provinces rather than in the remaining parts of the Empire that good Governors were to be found, men like Saadat Khan and Ali Verdi Khan who were on the whole strong rulers, not inclined to put up with more disorder than they could help, whereas in the Provinces under direct Imperial control every man did much as he chose. A Jat chief of banditti named Churaman Singh established himself at this time at Bhartpur and robbed right up to the gates of Delhi and Agra. On the whole, if we are to judge by the fact that those people are the happiest of whom history is the most silent, the people of the Punjab would seem to have been the best off at the time, for history as regards them is almost entirely silent. The Sikhs only rose again after Nadir Shah's invasion and there was no sedition of any moment during the first twenty years of the Emperor's reign. In Delhi itself disturbances broke out from time to time. On one occasion in a 'holi' riot the mob took possession of the town for days. Such was the state of things when Nadir Shah in the latter part of 1738 invaded India and led his soldiery to the attack and plunder of the Imperial Capital. About this Nadir Shah and the kingdom of Persia I must now say a few words.

My readers will remember how at the beginning of the 16th century Shah Ismail became the first ruler of the National Dynasty over Persia after many centuries of subjection to the foreigner, either Arab or Turkoman, and how his fortunes were connected with those of Mirza Baber. When Humayun fled from Sher Shah, the Persian ruler was considered one of the greatest rulers in the East and a few years later in the reign of Shah Abbas, commonly known as Shah Abbas the Great, Persia rose to a position which it has never since occupied. This great King, for he was really

great, and not only called so by way of flattery, died about the same time as Jahangir and after his death, according to law which governs almost all Oriental Dynasties, the Kingdom of Persia began to decay; it conquered indeed after much fighting Kandahar from Shah Jahan, but all the same its history during the greater part of the 17th century is one of constant decline. Then came a foreign invader Mahmud, an Afghan, who led his countrymen against Shah Husain the effeminate descendant of the great Abbas, who was then on the Persian throne, defeated him and after a siege of Ispahan lasting many months in which the besieged suffered all the pangs of privation and semi-starvation, took possession of this city in the early part of 1723. Mahmud was a pure butcher; his rule was nothing but one of a series of massacres and when he died his cousin Ashraf found that the blood won conquest could not be maintained. Nominally under Shah Tahmasp of the old dynasty, but really under Nadir Shah a robber chief, the Afghans were driven headlong out of Persia A. D. 1727. Nadir Shah did not belong to the Tajiks, the town dwellers, who are Persians in the strict sense of the term, but sprang from one of the many Turkoman Nomadic tribes which have wandered for many a long year about the various plains of Persia and to one of which the present ruling dynasty of Persia belongs. He signalised the commencement of his rule by an attempt to change the faith of the Persian from Shiah to Sunni Muhammedanism. In this he failed, as indeed all attempts in this state to make such a change, have failed. In political matters and in material matters in general, the Oriental is very much a child, he can be led or driven wherever a strong power wills, but once the question of religion is touched, the child is found to be a full grown man with an indomitable will and so Nadir Shah found. He had other work to do besides attempting to change the Persian religion. In the first instance he had to restore the boundaries of Persia which had been infringed on all sides. As regards these attempts at restoration on the West and North against Russian and Turk this history has nothing to do. Different, however, is the case with his attempts in the East. In the case of the Afghans, first of a

he had to drive these completely out of Persia, and secondly, the found it necessary to capture Kandahar from an Afghan who eventually had set himself as the ruler up there, and who was plundering all round as far as Multan on the East, and Herat on the West.

It was after his campaign at Kandahar that Nadir Shah came in contact with the Moghul Empire. A number of the Afghans in their flight had entered the Moghul dominions and Nadir Shah demanded their surrender. Ambassadors were sent to the Imperial Court but no heed was taken of their representations, indeed the officials there, whose arrogance was only equalled by their imbecility, would hardly allow them an audience. Nadir Shah on his side was not a man with whom to trifle. First of all he attacked Cabul, the Governor of which place at the time was Nasir Khan. The latter had little stomach for the fight. Like so many of the rulers of distant provinces he had constantly been demanding money from the Court, but to none of his representations had any attention been paid. In one of his letters he describes himself as a rosebush withered by the blast of autumn and the soldiery as a faded pageant, ill provided and without spirit. All the same no money came, although promises were plentiful, and so when Nadir Shah attacked the town and province of Cabul he met with but little resistance. He was fortunate also in another way. Invaders of India, as well as those who attempt to attack Afghanistan and Beluchistan from India have constantly found the mountain tribes along the Sulaiman range of hills as the greatest of obstacles. The Delhi Court, from the days of Akbar's generals' campaigns in Yusufzai lands, had found that the wisest as well as the cheapest policy was to subsidize these tribes, in return for which they undertook to keep some sort of order within this mountainous land. Somewhat similar is the present policy of the Indian Government which endeavours by enlistment and by pecuniary help in different forms, to keep these tribes in a state of quietude. But the Delhi Government had no money for anything of the sort, and so now that Nadir Shah was coming, instead of these tribes acting as obstacles in his path, they, on the other hand, welcomed him,

and followed in his train hoping to share in the plunder of Hindustan. He passed from Cabul to India by the orthodox road traversed by so many conquerors before him, through the Khaiber, crossed the Indus by boats at Attock and routed the troops sent against him by the Subahdar of the Punjab near Lahore. This city was spared, the Governor having paid Nadir Shah a large sum on this account. By this time the Delhi Court was alarmed. A large army under the command of Khan Dauran, an incompetent minister, who for many years had done nothing but ruin the country, was gathered together to arrest the invader. It marched as far as Karnal where it encamped. Saadat Khan joined it shortly after its arrival there. Nizam-ul-Mulk was in Delhi at the time with an army, but he never seems to have intended to take any considerable share in the fighting. At Karnal a battle was fought; the losses on the sides of the Persians were but trifling; nor indeed did the Moghuls lose many more, but Khan Dauran was killed and Saadat Khan taken prisoner. This determined the fate of the campaign. Messages passed between the two armies with the result that the Emperor visited Nadir Shah's camp. The Seir Mutakherin suggests that Nadir Shah was in the first instance willing to make peace there and return forthwith to his own country, but that Saadat Khan who had become inordinately jealous of Nizam-ul-Mulk, inasmuch as he believed that the latter had supplanted him in the Emperor's Council, sent word to Nadir Shah that Delhi was close by, that there was nothing to oppose him, and that this city was rich with wealth beyond the dreams of avarice. Anyhow Nadir Shah determined on making no treaty on the spot but to proceed along with Muhammad Shah to Delhi. I may say here, that the story told that after the departure of the Persian King, that Saadat Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulk mutually reproached each other as being the cause of the calamities that had followed Nadir Shah's invasion, that both agreed to take poison and that Saadat Khan did take it and died and that Nizam-ul-Mulk, crafty old man that he was, took some innocuous potion and lived, is hardly credible and may be dismissed from sober history. Nadir Shah and Muhammad Shah together enter-

ed Delhi. First of all there was absolutely quiet; then a rumour came through the town that Nadir Shah was dead, some saying that he had died a natural death and some, that he had been stabbed by a Kalmuk woman of the harem. The consequence was an uprising in the town and a massacre of all stray Persian soldiers. Then the conqueror rose in his wrath and orders were issued for an indiscriminate slaughter. The streets of the town ran red with blood. The visitor to Delhi to this day is pointed out a low mosque standing where the Hindu Jewellers' Street, known as the "Dhariba," meets the stately Chandni Chowk, upon the balcony of which it is said Nadir Shah sat on the fateful day of the great massacre. As was to be expected, plunder went on as vigorously as bloodshed, and as is common in such cases, fire completed the work of destruction which blood and plunder had begun. Almost three and a half centuries before, Delhi had been thoroughly plundered by Timur's hordes, but since that time it had remained untouched. Consequently even although Agra had been the Court Capital during the days of the Moghul's greatest power, yet Delhi far more than Agra was the city in which the concentrated wealth of the Empire was. From this bloodshed and plunder Delhi never really entirely recovered, and it is only now at the present day, when it is becoming one of the great trade centres of Northern India, that it is really again gradually finding its old position. Great in reputation as being the centre of what had been the Moghul power it continued to be, and so at the time of the Mutiny it became the centre of all who dreamed that the Delhi Empire might again be restored, but with the sack of the town by Nadir Shah, its wealth and material greatness departed, and in the period which elapsed between the sack and its occupation by the forces of the East India Company, its greatness consisted simply in its name. It had ceased to be the ruling capital, in any sense, of India.

Nadir Shah returned to Persia with an enormous loot; no more than Timur did he intend to stay. All the contents of the Delhi treasury consisting of money, both in gold and silver, as well as jewels and gold plate were carried off. Amongst other

spoils was the great peacock throne. As the Muhammedan historian remarks—"in short, the accumulated wealth of three hundred and forty-eight years changed in a moment," and not only was the wealth of the Imperial Court carried away but strict enquiries were made into the resources of the people. Everyone of any importance was forced to ransom himself according to a scale which practically meant the taking away from the unfortunate person his whole property. Thus having extracted all that he could and having had his son married to one of the female descendants of Shah Jahan, Nadir Shah departed the way by which he came, and with his departure the Empire of the Moghuls really came to an end. For another few years Muhammad Shah and his successors still remained in Delhi, styling themselves as Moghul Emperors and ruled in name over some of the countries immediately adjoining the capital. Still from time to time ambitious Chiefs found the name of the great Moghul one wherewith to conjure; but all the same the Moghul Empire from this time ceased to exist. The whole of the South of India was either under the rule of the Mahrattas or of Nizam-ul-Mulk or of petty chiefs each of whom did what seemed right in his own eyes, and as regards Upper India, the Viceroys (Subahdars) became practically independent sovereigns. Sometimes one of these Viceroys would get himself named as Wazir, sometimes this office was held by one of the Delhi courtiers, but all power had passed away from the Imperial throne. Within thirty years of this date, the representative of the dynasty will be found under the tutelage of the East India Company to which he is obliged to grant the Diwanship, really the Government of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. Then, further on he will for a time pass under the tutelage of the Mahrattas, but never again will he possess independent power. In the great struggles to come for the Lordship of India, neither he nor any troops commanded by his officers will take a prominent place. A little over twenty years after Nadir Shah's invasion of India came another invasion by Ahmed Shah Abdali the Afghan, The opposition to him was not from any Moghul force but from the Mahrattas of the South. Against him on the historical plains of Panipat in the year

1761 A. D. was fought a battle on which depended the whole fate of India. In that battle the Mahratta power was shattered, and although the Afghans no more than the Persian obtained any permanent hold over India, it was the shattering of this Mahratta power which made way for the English. If it had not been so, and if the Mahrattas had won the fight at Panipat, the whole history of modern India would probably have been altered. It is the idlest of all idle thoughts to try and imagine what might have been, but it is not a matter of surprise that a modern Mahratta in his dreams looks back with regret to that fateful day and imagines that if events had turned out differently he, and not the white-skinned Englishman, would have been the Master of India at the present day.

EPILOGUE.

After the return of Nadir Shah from Delhi set in what has been called the period of the Great Anarchy in Indian History. Its advent had been approaching for fifty years previous to the Persian ruler's invasion but only after this did it reign complete and supreme. The Mahrattas had inaugurated its reign before the death of Aurangzeb in the Deccan; the Civil wars and the feeble rule of his successors had helped it on in Hindustan in the thirty years after this Emperor's death; but now everywhere, except in the corners where some more masterful despot than the rest ruled with an iron hand, anarchy stepped forth, unabashed, undisguised as King, everywhere rule became the rule of the strongest. The Governors of Great Provinces of the Empire, although their rule was less nominal than that of the Emperor himself, were themselves by no means absolute masters of their respective Governments. Petty tyrants sprang up everywhere. Already the Peshwas had supplanted Sivaji's descendants and in their turn had been largely supplanted by the military heads of the Mahratta people, Scindia, Holkar, the Gaikwars, the Bhonsles and others. And the military chiefs themselves were by no means supreme, without rivals, within the lands over which they were supposed to rule. Smaller men, village bullies everywhere sprang up, who spread terror all around them and who only too often turned lands, which had been spared by the regular armies into deserts. Now and again a real ruler is to be found, such as Haider Ali in Mysore, who insisted on obedience.

Some parts of India such as Bengal were too rich even for the marauding Mahratta absolutely to despoil; but on the whole India, which was already far on the down grade before Nadir Shah crossed the Sulaiman range, went down after his departure at an ever accelerated pace towards ruin. Nor did the first conquests of the English do much to change this state of things. They drove back in-

deed open anarchy, but at the same time they in their rapacity and their ignorance of Indian life rather furthered than checked the process of internal dissolution, until the latter years of the eighteenth century, when the period of constructive administration in the lands ruled by them began. What can be said for the British rule in its earliest stages is that by reason of its military successes it made a subsequent building up of the administration and a checking of internal disorder possible. The story of the growth of this anarchy, of this long prolonged agony comparable in English history to the reign of Stephen, when every man did what was good in his own eyes, as far as his neighbour was not strong enough to prevent him, is to be gathered from almost all the literature concerning India of the time. Nowhere is it to be found more fully set forth than in the pages of the Seir Mutakherin. Not that the writer of that book, Mir Ghulam Husain Khan, a nobleman of the province of Behar, had any idea that the period he was describing and in which he lived had the character which we have attributed to it. But rarely does it happen that he who lives in a troubled or indeed in any period of the world's history can appreciate correctly its bearings with the past or foresee how it will bear in the future, and this particular author, though he sighs over the disorders of the times and regrets the incapacity and cowardice of the chiefs, does not show the slightest appreciation of what all who study the epoch can see now, *viz.*, that he was living in a period of absolute disorder. As to the English, he looks upon their arrival and conquest of the country as the worst of all the troubles which had befallen unhappy Hindustan. Some of his complaints, such as Englishmen's favouring of their own countrymen, their not taking into Government service nor giving sufficient important positions to Natives of India, of promotions going by seniority, of the draining India of a great part of her wealth and sending the same to Europe, of their listening to their underlings and very often to their own private servants, have a strangely modern sound. Similar complaints are not infrequent not only in the ephemeral native journalism of the day, but in the writings of temperate Indian writers of a much higher standard

than the average journalist and have found their echo largely in Europe. Other complaints such as the want of open durbars, of the delays of justice, of entrusting too much power to the Zamindars savour more of the time. There is no doubt that the author missed alike the grandeur of open courts and the quick justice of the Moghuls. To him the license of abuse, allowed to disappointed suitors at the end of an unsuccessful hearing, was a sign of magnanimity, and the privacy of the English Courts as well as the protractedness of their proceedings were abominations. But above all stands out as his main objection to the English that whereas the Moghuls, when they conquered, took the greatest interest in maintaining or increasing the prosperity of the conquered country, the English, on the other hand, thought only of seizing all its riches for themselves.[9] He tells how when Shah Alam of Delhi invaded Behar in the early sixties of the eighteenth century the people first favoured him, but finding his army a rabble given over to plunder and the English troops under discipline transferred all their sympathies to the latter. But he writes "those people (the natives of Behar) feel nothing for them (the Englishman) now, fully sensible that these new rulers pay no regard or attention to the concerns of Hindustanies, and that they suffer them to be mercilessly plundered, fleeced, oppressed, and tormented by those officers of their appointing, and by their other dependants; these same people, I say, reduced now to despair, have altered their language, and totally changed in their hearts, on finding that their rulers had so far altered from what they had seemed to be."

II.

Muhammad Shah lived after Nadir Shah's departure for another nine years; his two successors, fainéant Emperors, nominally ruled one for six and the second for five years. The latter was put to death by his Prime Minister, a grandson of Nizam-ul-Mulk, a monster of brutality even amongst the most brutal of the time, and the next Emperor Shah Alam the II. as he was named who reigned in name for forty-seven years up to 1806 A. D., lived to see the English Masters of Delhi. This last-named Emperor

never really was in power over any part of the vast Empire of which he was the nominal overlord. It was very early in his reign, 1761 A. D., that the Mahrattas, who in the years following Nadir Shah's invasion had overrun and plundered most of Western and a part of Eastern Hindustan, met the crushing defeat of Panipat. The Afghan invaders under Ahmed Shah Adali shivered the finest force the Mahrattas had ever put into the field into a thousand fragments. As often before, so then it was shown that the lighter native of India, active and courageous though he be, is no match for the heavier built warrior of Afghanistan and Central Asia. It was really Panipat rather than Plassey that decided the fate of Modern India. With it was shattered for ever the hope of a Mahratta Empire stretching from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Never again do we find the Mahrattas really united in any enterprise of moment. Thereafter more than half their strength is expended in internecine conflict, one military chief fighting with another. And most important of all, as far as the English were concerned, after Panipat, Upper India was left alone during the eventful years from 1761 on to 1782. The English in India during those years had in their wars in Hindustan not to deal with the Mahrattas, who alone at that time, away from far distant Mysore, could boast of having an army worthy of the name. On the other hand, the opponents of the English were almost entirely a rabble which some Muhammedan Governor, himself too often a poor Harem dwelling creature, could manage to get together and which had no idea of fighting save as a preliminary to plunder. The armies of Murshidabad and Lucknow alike were void of the first elements of discipline or military cohesion and proved themselves no match for the handful of Europeans and Natives—such were the early English armies—who, on the other hand, were properly drilled and handled. And so it happened that long before the change was realised, the English had made themselves the strongest power in Hindustan. When at the beginning of the nineteenth century they had to meet a stubborn opposition in Upper India, it came not from any Hindustani power but from the Mahrattas, whose home was the Deccan and who in a sense might be deemed

foreigners in the land. It was not till the Sikh wars (omitting the Nepal war as the Gurkhas can hardly be termed Hindustanis) that the East India Company's mixed army of Europeans and Natives met in Upper India a foe worthy of its steel. And it was in these Sikh wars too that the insufficiency of the Native Sipahis of the Ganges lands, however well drilled, to meet the hardier and bigger soldiers of the Punjab, was first demonstrated. From these wars the day of the Hindustani Sipahi as the Eastern fighting man of the British Raj was at an end. The Mutiny only consummated the change. British India was conquered mainly by a small number of English troops supplemented by a much larger number of Hindustani troops drilled and disciplined in English fashion. British India, in fact India—for all India is British now—is at present guarded and protected by a large body of English troops, supplemented by a larger force of Native troops in which the Sikhs and Muhammedans of the Punjab and the Gurkhas of Nepal take the foremost place. If ever India is to be exposed to invasion in the North-West, the protagonists on the British side will be the soldiers just named. Instead of the invader from the N.-W. meeting the Hindustani Sipahi as he would have done forty years ago, he will encounter besides the British soldiers the Punjabi, the hill men of the North-West and the Gurkha of Nepal.

Why these are better and more reliable soldiers is not far to seek. Climate and race both explain. Hot dry summers, cold winters—such climates—produce the hardier men. Witness the tribes of Western Central Asia, the men who supplied Taimur and Babar with their armies and who have ever shown themselves as possessing the greatest endurance and courage. Even a hot climate without much winter, if it be dry, produces a hardy race. Witness the Arabs, who in the seventh and eighth centuries overrun a great part of the known world. But the hot steamy valley of the Ganges where heat is joined to excessive humidity is not a climate fitted to produce such men. Many as the virtues are of the races who inhabit what the Germans call Wet India—roughly speaking the lands East of the parallel of longitude running through Allahabad—keen thinkers as they may be, their native lands are

not fitted to rear a powerful nation at arms. And not only climate but race is also an ingredient in the breeding of such a race. The Jat peasantry of the Punjab almost certainly at some not too far distant period—came from the colder and severer lands of Central Asia. So probably at some more distant time indeed did the high caste races of Oudh, Bihar and Bengal. The races who burst through the hills that stretch from Rajmahal across Central India, and settled in the Delta below must have been endowed with intrepidity of no common sort. But yet a land, in which it seemeth always afternoon, in time will change (away from all questions of change of food, in itself a most powerful faction in the formation of character) any race characteristics and will in time lessen the active, though it may increase the passive virtues.

When, however, all has been said, the history of the Indian armies, from the time that Clive in the forties of the eighteenth century defended Arcot, up to the siege of Delhi in 1857 and the capture of Lucknow in 1858, is one of the most wonderful in the world's history. The English, absolute foreigners, managed to attach men during these 110 years from various parts of India to serve under their flag in various parts of India and sometimes beyond, with no further power of attraction than the promise of regular pay. Mercenaries have been known throughout the world's history: daredevils, with a dislike to regular industry, have always been found who have been willing to kill and be killed for a moderate remuneration. But it is only in days when the ordinary means of industry and livelihood are hard to obtain, that any considerable part of a population become willingly mercenaries. In cases such as in the latter part of the Thirty Years' War, when Germany had been turned into a desert, and when regular occupations were at an end, then naturally the younger and stronger turned to the one occupation whereby a livelihood might be gained, *i.e.*, the camp. And again in German History we read of the smaller Princes forcibly making their subjects as soldiers and selling them to a foreign prince. Thus England hired Hessian troops in her vain attempt to conquer her revolted American colonies. But the English in India did not get their soldiers in this last fashion. The

reason why the English got whatever soldiers they wanted was largely the same as that which caused the contending powers in Germany from 1635 on to get as many men as they could pay, *i.e.*, soldiering was the only lucrative industry at the time. But in India too, besides the fact that anarchy had driven many men from their regular business, there was another reason which made the recruitment of Sipahis not difficult. In the first instance, the fighting classes in India, those who by caste rules and feeling, consider soldiering the only fit profession for a gentleman, far exceed any such class in Europe. They could indeed get service under a Native Prince, but with him, however grand the promises, the chances of fulfilment were precarious. Far otherwise was it with the East India Company, where as an almost universal rule, pay was punctual and where once promised, was never afterwards withheld. Add to this what we have said above, *i.e.*, that soldiering according to prices then prevailing was paid much better than any other profession, which the professional soldier could ordinarily join, and the secret how the Indian army was welded together is largely disclosed. Without, however, a feeling of camaraderie and of confidence between the white officer and the native soldier all these reasons would have been insufficient. It was this which completed the chain by which the Company's armies were forged into one whole. It was the lessening of this feeling of camaraderie and of friendship, which was one of the main sources of the Mutiny. The officer got too far apart from the soldier. The same complaint which is made now often in Civil life that there is no real friendship between the English administrative officers and the natives of the country was much to be heard in the immediate pre-Mutiny days. And there is no doubt that such a complaint implies something very wrong. It is not well with any country, certainly not with India, when such a complaint is true. And at the present day, the most important factor in Indian administration is this feeling of sympathy and friendship. Without it the Indian Government would be only what the Germans call Byzantismus. The administrative machine moves on like the Car of Juggernath, crushing, flattening everywhere, but the result, even if it make for physical prosperity,

must be disastrous. Often it is said that the mass of work that a European officer has to get through, the fact that he can now spend all his leave owing to the quick passages procurable to Europe, alike prevent him from getting to know and to like the native as he did of yore. If this be so, and I believe, there is some truth in it, it would be better to lessen the amount of work called for from each officer, much of it of the purely mechanical sort which can be done by a subordinate staff, to change leave rules so as to ensure that officers should spend a part of their leave in India, than to allow a system to continue, which may result in an alienation between the rulers and the ruled; a state of things more likely to be disastrous to India's peaceful progress than any other cause which, in my opinion, is at present at work.

III.

As regards Administration, it is a cardinal point either in studying the History of India in the past or in applying oneself to the problems of India of to-day to remember that the present system had really its origin in the days of Akbar. Sher Shah indeed may have suggested by his acts much which Akbar and Todar Mull worked out; but these two latter are the real founders of Modern Administrative India. Previous to them we find nothing which would correspond to a modern State. Village communities have ruled themselves in India since days immemorial. Princes, both Hindu and Muhammedan, have taken from these villages and from the more complex townships, funds wherewith to hold a Court or equip an army; Afghan rulers and Rajput Rajas have established on a large scale tribal rule; at times, indeed, as with some of the Afghan rulers of Delhi, this rule has extended over a great part of Hindustan; but the Administrative rule of modern days sometimes half contemptuously called bureaucracy, stretching its web over man's manifold transactions, really first came into existence with Akbar. As in the ancient world, Monarchy after Monarchy, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Macedon, became one after the other for a period world Monarchies, but the first that really entwined itself round the various populations comprised within it, so that all felt

bound by one common administration and law, was Rome, so in the case of India it was the Moghuls that first created Hindustan in the modern sense a State. How strong the fetters were that were forged, what lasting power they had, is to be seen from the fact that when the Moghul Empire went into a thousand bits, when the Emperors became puppets and the Governors of Provinces became unable to put down the disorders which arose everywhere, the old forms still existed, the old methods were still nominally pursued and the old names and styles still endured. The English in India really took up the Moghuls' work, making that a reality which for the half century before them had been but a mockery. And in spite of all that may be said against it, it is in the working out of this bureaucratic administration that the future of India seems to depend. Constitutions, it cannot too often be said, are not commonly made; they ordinarily grow by rules much the same as other organic growths. In no country less than India could there ever be a *tabula rasa*, a going back to the state of things such as existed before the days of Akbar. In Modern Europe we find two styles of Government, which may be termed the Prussian or bureaucratic and the English or popular. In the former the State is managed much as a wise proprietor would manage a private estate; service in it is almost universally paid, the work is economically and as a rule well done, but it lacks the spontaneousness and the freedom of the other system. Whether this lack is compensated by the superior efficiency of the work done, is a matter concerning which it is not necessary here to say anything. The point is that for good or for evil India has got no choice. The Prussian method of Government is the only one possible for her. Modifications indeed may be made in the popular direction, but the Government must be carried on, if anarchy is not to come again, after the Prussian fashion; and this being so, line upon line and step upon step is the only policy which the British Government of India can pursue. It was more than three hundred years from the date when the first non-Italians were made Roman citizens to the day that Caracalla gave that dignity to all the subjects of the Empire. In less than a hundred years from the days of Lord William Bentinck, the British Government

has made great steps in the direction taken by the Roman Rulers of old. Indians have been associated with the Administration, the personal law governing the various races of India have been largely codified and steps have been taken to give these races a voice in the making of laws. And the process thus begun is still going on. Where it will end no one can tell. The problem is, in some respects, far more difficult than that to which the Cæsars addressed themselves. The English are fewer than the Romans were in the provinces, the transition from race to race in the old world State was gradual, here it is one great leap. The countries forming the Roman Empire were geographically connected; some thousands of miles separate the shores of India from Great Britain. On the other hand, the races of India are easier to deal with than most of the races which formed the Roman Empire; and steam has largely annihilated distances of space. And again the Romans had no previous Governments of world or continental States, save the Hellenistic States to a small degree, from which to take advice or warning. They worked out their administration and their civilisation in their own way and by their own unaided lights. And in spite of its many defects, what a wonderful administration and civilisation it was. Not only was Rome the mother of Modern Europe, but a Semitic race such as the Arabs and an Eastern race such as the Persians, were profoundly influenced by her. England has in any case the example of Rome both for an admonition and a warning ever before her. And we may say that even already her administration has shown as wonderful results as Roman rule ever did. The awakening of Asia is slow, but it awakens all the same. Japan has been the fastest to move, but China as well as India are rapidly proceeding on Western paths. And we may say without exaggeration that this awakening is mainly, if not almost entirely, the work of England. The United States and Russia may have had some influence; but even combined, their influence has been, if compared with English, insignificant. And as to India itself, its railways, canals, roads, ports and on the other side its universities, schools, educated men—all speak most eloquently of the enormous influence of England on India. And

yet it would be as wrong to exaggerate this influence as to depreciate it. In spite of all England has done or taught, her influence has not yet penetrated so deep that if her protecting hand were withdrawn for fifty years, the probabilities are not great that nothing of it would remain. The Intellectuals in India have throughout the country, even in some cases by the method of aversion, been profoundly influenced by England. Of this there can be no doubt whatsoever. Even more powerfully have the people at large been moved by economic reasons, by the growth of communications, by the possibilities of selling what they may have to sell at a distance from home and by the consequent demand for what they produce by people from a distance—all of which are results of English rule. And yet by far the greater part of the population follow agricultural pursuits; excepting the Presidency towns, great towns, which are not simply magnified villages, are few; the great mass of the people never, save perhaps for a local fair, travel a dozen miles from where they are born; all the articles of their daily consumption are still produced on the spot (cotton goods perhaps should here be mentioned as an exception) and to all outward seeming they pass their lives, absolutely uninfluenced by any foreign forces in the same way of life and with the same aims and methods of thinking, that their ancestors had in the villages in which their descendants now live two thousand years ago. E pur si muove, still there is movement, though slow, and the foreign leaven is working—working even in matters such as the tilling of the soil—little by little strange methods are being introduced; strange implements, modified to meet local requirements, taking the place of the older pure Indian instruments of work.

To sum up the whole matter, with the fostering care of England, for another limited period of time, limited in relation to a nation's history in which not years but tens of years and even fifties of years stand as units, there seems to be, humanly speaking, a certainty that the masses of India will be developed into something different from what they were a hundred years ago, from what they are now. If this fostering care should be withdrawn, if the people of India were left to themselves to work out their own salvation, it

is impossible to prophesy what would be their future. The probabilities are (I take it for granted that English rule is not superseded by some other foreign rule such as Russian, German or Japanese) that the warlike races of Upper India would seize the land and put the Intellectuals—who at the present day are mainly to be found in the warmer parts of India near the sea into a position of hopeless inferiority, using them for their purposes but by no means being guided by them as to their methods of government. That English influence is entirely for good, I do not think any candid observer of matters of India can well maintain. But that it is mainly for good I fancy almost every Indian will acknowledge. Many of us look into misgivings on what seems to be an inevitable result of English rule, the introduction of the economic conditions of the West into the East. There is Capitalism here true; there is a proletariat also true; but at present there is none of the class antagonism which is such an unpleasant feature in the West of to-day. The joint family among the Hindus in the past is rapidly being undermined and with it the greatest resisting power to the Western fierce individual all-pervading hunt after wealth. That more capital is needed in India, that it will be better for her if she can work up more of the raw products in which she abounds into manufactured articles without having to send them to a foreign country—all this is true. But such gain would be dearly bought, if along with it came the turning of the Indian peasant's life into one of dull unending blind labour, such as is the lot of a large part of the manufacturing population of the West. In India though the sun is most of the year hot, still it is almost always to be had; people live largely in the open air; and the change, if the rustic is to become a denizen of great towns, would be not one of unmixed advantage. Sun, air, water, all are plentiful (some will say too plentiful, and so they may be for the pale Western but not ordinarily for the acclimatised Eastern), are all great blessings, and if the result of English rule were to rob a great part of the population of their enjoyment of these, the loss would be great indeed. It is to be hoped that neither the Government by its legislation nor the leaders of the people by their

influence, nor economic causes, which are stronger than either Government or popular leaders, will bring about such a result. "Better twenty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay" may be all very well for those with wealth and leisure, but for the masses—given the choice between a Western factory with its gray, never ceasing toil and the life of an Eastern peasant—and most, I think, would prefer the latter.

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